TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

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PREFACE.

Although the Four Journeys in Northern Greece which form the subject of these Volumes, are not strictly consecutive, in order of time, to the two Journeys, which constituted my "Travels in the Moréa," the present Work is in all other respects a continuation of the former, on the same plan; and the Preface of those volumes will equally apply to these.

If the diurnal record of the traveller be not always the form of narrative most agreeable to the reader, it is, or ought to be, more faithful than any other, and consequently more useful to those who visit the countries described, especially when those countries have been little explored. That form, therefore, has been continued in these volumes, though the length of time which has elapsed since the Journeys were undertaken has justified the omission of many observations, which would now

appear trifling, and may have given to those which are left no more interesting character than that of a memoir in aid of history, serving also to exemplify manners and language, in which little or no change has yet been effected by the new political state of a part of Greece.

Ancient history and geography having been the Author's chief objects, their illustration occupies a large portion of the work; and, in consequence of its *form,* the remarks upon them are introduced, I must confess, with little observance of order or connexion. The only remedy for this inevitable defect was a copious Index. The opinions on those subjects were generally formed upon the spot, on a careful examination of the ancient testimonies, by means of portable editions of the works which more particularly treat of Greece, or by extracts from others, made previously to the several journeys. It has indeed happened occasionally, that a new light has been thrown upon such questions by authorities of less frequent occurrence, to which I had no access when in Greece; but in these cases I have not thought it necessary to refer to the circumstance when citing the author, as it has no

effect upon the conclusion, and cannot be of any interest to the reader.

The general map appended to these Volumes has been constructed like that which accompanied my "Travels in the Moréa," from the measurement of a great number of angles with the sextant or theodolite from every eligible station, which was accessible to me, no opportunity having been omitted of obtaining a complete triangle, when circumstances admitted of it. In applying these geometrical observations, I have had the benefit of some valuable information from John Hawkins, Esquire, of Bignor Park, in Sussex, who has had the kindness to communicate to me some important angles measured by him from the summits of the mountains *Ossa* and *Pelium*, and from two other stations in the eastern part of *Thessaly*. The coast-line has throughout been copied or corrected from the Admiralty surveys, executed under the direction of Captains Smyth and Copeland, of the Royal Navy, of which those made under the orders of the latter officer are still unpublished. For this assistance I am indebted to His Majesty's Hydrographer, Captain Beaufort.

In the interior country, the Journal will sufficiently distinguish the parts examined by me, from those in which the defects of distant or partial observations could be supplied only by such oral information as can be gathered from an ignorant and uneducated people. It is scarcely necessary to add, that in these parts the map is to be considered only as a first approximation.

Many circumstances of no public interest have retarded the appearance of these volumes, far beyond my wish and intention. The delay, however, has afforded me the means of marking on the map the boundary-line, which, *for the present*, forms the continental frontier of liberated Greece.

London,
December, 1835.

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Plan of *Thebes*.
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ERRATA, VOL. I.

Page 9, note, *for* Roman *read* Romaic
— 49, line 15, &c. *for* Velágrada *read* Velégrada
— 108, line 2, 25. p. 111, l. 5. *for* Fidhari *read* Fidharo or Fidhári, Φίδαρος or Φιδάριον
— 112, note 2, line 27, *for* Κοιλὰ Kilá *read* Κοῖλα, Kila
— 189, line 6, *for* North-west *read* West
— 202, — 15, *for* Postikiús *read* Kostakiús
— 303, — 17, *for* φωρτώμενα *read* φωρτωμένα
— 425, — 16, *for* Voidóva *read* Voivóda
— 432, note 1, *for* Τζιγότι *read* Τζιγιότι
— 457, line 7, *for* Θαυμάκου *read* Θαυμακοῦ. In the note, last line, *dele* 17.

ERRATA, VOL. II.

Page 95, line 11, *for* passing *read* seen
— 95, note 1, *for* δρύκων *read* δράκων
— 422, note 1, last line, *for* S. 39½ E. *read* S. 49½ E.
— 436, line 7, *for* 6°. North of West *read* 6°. West of North
— 438, — 25, *for* opening *read* ridge
— 476, — 22, *for* a narrow valley of the Kanavári *read* the narrow, &c.

ERRATA, VOL. III.

Page 42, line 2, *for* ten *read* six
— 68, — 2, the word "narrowest" belongs to the end of the next line
— 89, — 13, *for* could be decyphered *read* could not be decyphered
— 136, note 2, *for* μυλάρια *read* μουλάρια
— 210, line 15, p. 211, l. 27, p. 212, l. 10, 23, *for* Megabyzus *read* Megabazus
— 313, note, col. 1, line 11, *for* Dyrrhachio, Clodiana 31, *read* Dyrrhachio Clodiana 41
— 350, note, *for* Ῥαψάνη *read* Ῥάψανι
— 454, line 27, *for* Lydias *read* Axius
— 463, note 2, *for* Diodor. l. 19. *read* Diodor. l. 16.
— 505, line 23, *after* Babíni, Makherá and Khrysovítzi, lying in that order from, *for* South-East to North-West *read* from North to South
— 511, in the last line, *after* the monastery *read* of Lygovítzi

ERRATA, VOL. IV.

Page 21, note 2, supply the words Μαχάτας ἐπόησε before the verses of the inscription cited from Meletius, the reference to whose work ought to be ii. 290, not ii. 250
— 167, lines 17, 18, *for* the name of the district and of many of the villages, *read only* the names of many of the villages
— 167, line 19, *dele* great
— 179, — 7, *for* the shore on either side *read* the shore to the Eastward
— 348, — 9, *after* Cassander *read* by whom they were speedily retaken
— 365, — 12, *for* in a line with Férsala *read* in the road to Férsala
— 400, — 1 of the note, being part of note 1 of p. 399, *for* Αἰσωσίδα *read* Αἰσωνίδα
— 435, — 23, *for* valley *read* village
Index, page 1, line penult. *for* 252 *read* 257.

TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

FIRST JOURNEY.

CHAPTER I.

EPIRUS.

Arrival on the coast of Albania—Avlóna, *Aulon*—Kanína—Erikhó, *Oricum*—River *Celydnus*—Sázona Island, *Sason*—*Acroceraunia*—Palása, *Palæstus*—Aspri Ruga—Corfú—Forty Saints, *Onchesmus* or *Anchiasmus*—Nívitza—Délvino—Morzená—Theriakhátes—Arghyrókastro—Valiaré Khan—Lábovo—Tepeléni—*Aoi Stena*—Bantza—Course of the Viósa below Tepeléni—Family and Court of Alý Pashá.

Dec. 9, 1804.—*Aulon*, which preserves its ancient name in the usual Romaic form of Avlóna[1], converted by the Italians into Valona, is about a mile and a half distant from the sea-beach, and has eight or ten minarets. On the sea side there is a tolerable wharf, with an apology for a fort, in the shape of a square inclosure of ruinous walls, with

[1] Αὐλῶναϛ.

towers and a few cannon. The town occupies a hollow thickly grown with olive trees, among which are some gardens of herbs mixed with cypresses, poplars, and fruit trees. Beyond, are rugged hills entirely covered with olives, and to the northward a woody plain extending for a considerable distance, and forming a low shore except just at the northern entrance of the gulf, opposite to the island Sázona, where are some white cliffs of small elevation separated from the plain by a lagoon, containing salt works and a fishery.

Two miles southward of the town rises a steep hill, on the summit of which is the ruinous castle of Kanína, and on a ridge branching from it to the southward the scattered houses of a Turkish village of the same name overtopped by two small minarets. Kanína is a name which occurs in the Byzantine history[1]. It was built upon a Hellenic site, as appears by some remains of masonry of that age among the walls. Not far to the southward of the height of Kanína, begins a range of steep mountains separated only by a narrow valley from the *Acroceraunia*, which mountain presents the same forbidding aspect on this side as towards the sea, and forms a narrow steep ridge, woody, rocky, and terminating in a sharp summit which closes the valley about ten miles from the extremity of the gulf. This valley is a part of the district of Khimára, and contains a large village named Dukái, in Greek Dukádhes, below which at the southern extremity of the gulf is the har-

[1] Anna Comn. l. i. p. 34. Paris.

bour named Pashalimán by the natives, and Porto Raguséo by the Italians, near the mouth of a river which flows from the peak of the Acroceraunia through the valley of Dukádhes. Eastward of the mouth of the river is a succession of lagoons, in the midst of which are the ruins of Oricum, on a desert site now called Erikhó[1]—the last syllable accented as in the ancient word, and E substituted for O, which was not an uncommon dialectic change among the ancients. The river of Dukádhes would seem from Ptolemy to have been the Celydnus, although its position does not exactly agree with his order of names, which places the Celydnus between Aulon and Oricum[2]. Porto Raguséo I take to be the Panormus which Strabo describes as the port of Oricum[3].

The gulf of Avlóna being surrounded, for the most part, by high mountains, is subject to sudden and violent squalls. When the wind blows strong from the westward, the road of Avlóna is not considered safe, and the usual anchorage is under Sázona, the ancient Sason, notorious among the Romans as a station of pirates[4]. This island is most conveniently placed to shelter this great bay just at the mouth of the Adriatic, and affords a safe entrance on either side into the bay; for the cliffs in front of the lagoons of Avlóna, the island itself, and the cape which forms the extreme point of the *Acro-*

[1] Anna Comnena writes Ἱεριχὼ, p. 34. 389.

[2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13, 14.

[3] Μετὰ δ' Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλιακὴ καὶ Ὠρικὸν, καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον αὐτοῦ ὁ Πάνορμος καὶ τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη, &c. Strabo, p. 316.

[4] Plin. H. N. l. 3, ad fin.

ceraunian ridge, are all equally bold. The latter remarkable promontory is now called Glossa (perhaps its ancient name), and by the Italians Linguetta. The depth of the gulf between Sázona and Avlóna is from 10 to 15 fathoms, and towards the southern extremity much greater, except near *Oricum*, where, as well as near Avlóna, the depth is from 2 to 4 fathoms. Every where the bottom is a tough mud, deposited from the surrounding mountains.

Among a few ships now lying in the road of Avlóna, is a Ragusan vessel loading fossil pitch from the mine mentioned by Strabo[1]. The mountain, at the foot of which this mineral is found, is about three hours to the eastward of Avlóna, and being conspicuous from off the coast, is marked in the Italian charts under the name of Montagna della Pegola. Its real name is Kúdhesi. Another ship is from Constantinople, bound to Palermo with corn; a third, which has been three months from Venice, is of the species of Adriatic vessels called a Piclago, which differs not much from the Manzera and Trabaccolo. It has a main-mast of a single stick from Fiume, almost as large as the main-mast of our ship[2], and twice as long. These vessels make quick passages with a fair wind, but are very unfit to contend with the Etesian breezes of summer, and still less with the equally obstinate and much more violent southerly gales in the autumn and winter. In the month of October, 1802, I made a passage of ten days in one of these vessels, from Corfú to Trieste, through the Dalmatian islands,

[1] Strabo, p. 316. [2] H. M. Sloop Bittern, Capt. Corbett.

touching at several of them in the way. In the present season it is not uncommon for them to be four months in making the passage in the opposite direction between the two ports. During the Etesian winds in summer, instances often occur of these vessels putting into the *Rhizonic Gulf*, or Bocche di Cattaro, with a contrary wind, when the masters proceed to Venice by land, make an agreement for the disposal of their cargo, and return to the Bocche before the ship has sailed. In the winter the Bocchesi seldom pass their gulf, but leaving a man and boy aboard, join their families on shore, and there remain till the spring.

Dec. 10.—Having sailed out of the gulf in the night with a light breeze at north, we speak a vessel from Alexandria bound *direct* to Tunis, with pilgrims returning from Mecca.

Dec. 11.—At noon at the foot of the Acroceraunian peak, on the slope below which stands the village Palása, a name resembling that of the place where, according to Lucan, Cæsar landed from Brundusium previously to his operations against Pompey in Illyria [1], but which Cæsar names Pharsalus [2]. There can be little doubt that, in

[1] . . . . . movitque Ceraunia nautis.
Inde rapi cœpere rates atque æquora classem
Curva sequi, quæ jam vento fluctuque secundo
Lapsa Palæstinas uncis confixit arenas.
Lucan. Pharsal. l. 5, v. 457.

[2] Postridie terram attigit Cerauniorum. Saxa inter et alia loca periculosa, quietam nactus stationem et portus omnes timens, quos teneri ab adversariis arbitrabatur ad eum locum, qui appellatur Pharsalus omnibus navibus ad unam incolumibus, milites exposuit. —Cæsar de B. Civ. l. 3, c. 6.

this instance, the poet is more correct than the great captain, who was so negligent of geography, (in Greece at least), that he has not named the place in Thessaly, where he gained the greatest of all his victories: so that this is the only passage in the commentaries where the word Pharsalus occurs. Cæsar's chief consideration in selecting his place of debarkation on this coast, was to avoid the harbours likely to be in the hands of the enemy, and to make himself master of Oricum, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium, before Pompey could arrive from Macedonia. Trusting, therefore, to his protecting fortune to carry him through the perils both of the enemy and the season, he embarked seven legions and six hundred cavalry at Brundusium, in ships of burthen, for want of any others, arrived on the day after his departure at the Ceraunia, where he found a quiet station for the ships in the midst of rocks and dangerous places; and having immediately landed his troops, sent back the ships to Italy the same night. By this promptitude, Pompey arrived from Candavia in time only to save Dyrrhachium. Appian, though he does not specify in what part of the Ceraunian mountains the landing was made, shows that it was very near to Oricum, for he agrees with Cæsar in representing Oricum to have been taken within a day from the time of the landing[1]: he adds that Cæsar marched by night; that on account of the rugged and difficult country, he divided his forces into several bodies, which were reunited at daybreak, and that the Oricii having declared their

[1] Appian. de Bel. Civ. l. 2, c. 54.—Cæsar, l. 3, c. 11.

unwillingness to resist the Roman Consul, the commander of the garrison delivered up the keys to Cæsar. The distance of the site of *Oricum* from the shore below Palása, seems perfectly to agree with these circumstances; and there is in fact a small harbour below Palása, though it seems rather diminutive for the force which Cæsar disembarked.

The Strada Bianca, so called in the Italian charts, and known to the Greeks by the synonym Aspri Ruga, is a broad torrent-bed very conspicuous at sea, which, originating in the summit of the mountain of Palása, descends directly to the sea to the northward of that village. To the southward of Palása is a succession of villages on the side of the mountain, as far as the entrance of the Channel of Corfú, all formerly belonging to the Khimariote league; but these, from Port Palerimo southward, are now in the hands of Alý Pashá. Khimára, which now gives name to the *Acroceraunian* range, is a town, a little to the northward of Port Palérimo, the ancient Panormus, described by Strabo as a harbour in the midst of the Ceraunian mountains [1].

The great summit at the northern end of Corfú, named Pandokrátora, and by the Italians Salvator, is now a conspicuous object to the south by east, and a little to the eastward of it the northern Cape of Corfú, named St. Catherine. Masléra and Salmastráki are in a line off the north west Cape of Corfú, and farther eastward Ὀθωνοὺς *(Ital. Fanu)*, forming

[1] Strabo, p. 324.

an equilateral triangle with the two former. Othonus, or Othronus, is an ancient name[1], and appears from Procopius to have been applied in the plural number to all the three islands[2].

Dec. 13th to 20th.—In quarantine at Corfú, in consequence of the fever at Gibraltar. The quarantine ground is a small level space on the shore below the gate of the city, which still bears the French inscription Porte d'Epire, but by the Greeks is called the gate of St. Nicolas, from a small church which, with an adjoining apartment, is the only building on the ground. St. Nicolas is the patron of sailors, and his churches are often found near the shore. His feast-day being on the 18th, the priest and his deacons were employed for two or three days previously in weaving garlands of myrtle to adorn the pictures, and in preparing branches of bay and myrtle to stick about the walls of the church.

Dec. 20.—From the quarantine at eleven A. M. I cross over to the Forty Saints, a harbour on the Epirote coast, in an open boat, which carries a cargo of oranges and lemons; these fruits, with figs, rice, and oil, form the export trade of Corfú with the Skala[3] of the Forty Saints, from whence are brought in return, grain, fish, botargo, cattle, and

[1] Plin. l. 4, c. 12, Schol. Lycophron. v. 1027, 1034.—Stephan. in Ὄθρωνος.

[2] Procop. de B. Goth. l. 4, c. 22.

[3] Σκάλα, in Turkish Iskéle, has been adopted from the Italian language, and is used in every part of the Levant to signify a port of trade, from the largest commercial city, to a place where a single magazine is sufficient for the traffic of the coast.

wood. We row over in six hours, against a light adverse air.

Kyr G. Z., to whom I have a letter of recommendation from our minister, is collector of the customs of the Forty Saints, which is the chief port of Délvino and its district. Having a share also in the fishery of *Buthrotum*, he sells fish, both fresh and salted, and retails wine and other commodities imported from Corfú. All these affairs are transacted in a small stone building: three-fourths of the space within the walls are destined to the shop and store which are on the bare ground, the remaining fourth, in which he dwells, is separated from the rest by a floor half way up the wall, and a wooden partition in front, having two windows looking down into the store. Around the apartment are ranged trunks and shelves containing the collector's property and domestic utensils. Among them are some boxes full of salted κεφαλοὶ, or grey mullets, making a powerful addition to the various odours, none of them very agreeable, which are diffused through the apartment. At one end is a hearth, but no chimney, the smoke serving, as it effects its escape through the tiles, to cure the botargo[1], or roes of the mullet, which, enclosed in the natural membrane as extracted from the fish, are suspended to the rafters, and after the smoking will be dipped in melted wax. The kefalós is produced in abundance in all the lagoons and lakes of Greece, which like that of *Buthrotum* have

[1] αὐγοτάριχον: the Roman form of the ancient ὠὰ τάριχα; literally, pickled eggs.

a communication with the sea; and the botargo is a great resource to the Greeks during the severer fasts, when only a bloodless fish diet is allowed.

Dec. 21.—On the north-western side of the harbour of the Forty Saints are some extensive ruins, situated on a gentle slope by the sea side, at the foot of the bare rocky hills of which all this part of the Epirote coast consists. The ruins are those of a town of the better times of the Lower Empire. The walls forming an exact semicircle, the diameter of which is the sea beach, are flanked by about twenty towers; and contain within them the remains of churches, cisterns, and houses. At present the inclosure serves as a fold for the flocks of some Albanians, who have left their native mountains, now covered with snow, in search of pasture, and who are accompanied by their families; some living in tents, others in καλύβια or huts of light materials. This is the common practice of the mountaineers of northern Greece, the far larger proportion of whom are Christians, either of Albanian or Vlakhiote race, but the present party are Musulman Liape, from the mountains near Tepeléni.

Between the walls of the ancient town and the modern houses of the Liméni, Skala, or Skáloma[1], are the remains of a suburb of the ruined town, and close to the houses of the Skala those of a large church, which has long been in ruins, but still retains the name of its saint, St. Basil[2]. On its southern side are the ruins of a smaller church of the same date, sacred to St. Nicolas[3].

[1] τὸ λιμένι, ἡ σκάλα, or τὸ σκάλωμα.

[2] Ἅγιος Βασίλειος.

[3] Ἅγιος Νικόλαος.

The summit of the hill which rises at the back of the Skala is crowned by the ruins of the church of the Forty Saints, which gives to this place the name of στοὺς Ἁγίους Σαράντα. A village on a height, separated only from that of the church by a hollow, through which leads the road to Délvino, bears the same name, as well as a small square white-washed fort to which there is a paved zig-zag path leading up the mountain from the Skala. The village was built three years ago by Alý Pashá, and is peopled by the cultivators and pastors of the neighbouring plain, from the former of whom, Alý having lately made the land his own, receives a third of its produce. The fortress was added this summer: it has two round towers at two of the opposite angles, and within the walls a dwelling for the bulu-báshi [1]. The church of the Forty Saints is said to have been part of a monastery, but nothing more remains at present than the ruined church, of the annexed form, which was covered with three domes and seven semi-domes.

It was evidently coeval with the town below; though part of the materials of the church, particularly in the round arches of the windows, are Roman tiles, derived probably from some town of

[1] This Turkish title, meaning the head of a military district, is bestowed upon any Albanian commanding a few soldiers. The Greeks write the word Μπουλουμπάς, but the Albanian pronunciation is very like Bilibásh.

an earlier age, which stood on the site of the existing ruins on the shore of the harbour. At Kassópo in Corfú, nearly opposite to the Forty Saints, are similar ruins of a town not so large as that of the Forty Saints, with those of a castle, irregular in shape, and having no ruined buildings within its inclosure, and which stands on the summit of a hill rising from the shore of the harbour of Kassópo.

The heights of the Forty Saints are rugged, sharp, honey-combed rocks of brown marble, with a little soil in the intervals, which bear squills and other plants usual on similar sites in Greece. At the Skala, a rough mole incloses a little cothon or basin sufficient for the use of the small boats which alone frequent the harbour, though it would be both secure and convenient for large vessels, were the commerce of this part of Epirus sufficient to require them, as the bay has good anchorage and is well protected both from south-easterly and north-westerly gales; in the latter direction, by a remarkable cape called Kefalí [1], which with Cape St. Catherine, or the northern extremity of Corfú, forms the entrance of the channel from the northward; in the opposite direction the harbour is protected by the projecting coasts both of the continent and island. To-day, though it blows a gale of wind from the southward, there is no sea in the port.

As there is nothing between the Forty Saints

[1] Κεφαλή.

and Port Palérimo deserving the name of a harbour, though there are creeks under the villages of Nívitza, Lúkovo and Pikérnes, where small vessels take shelter and are drawn up on the beach, the Forty Saints can alone correspond to the ancient Port Onchesmus, which was the next to the southward of Panormus, according to Ptolemy as well as Strabo[1]. It would seem from Cicero that Onchesmus, in his time, was a place of some importance, and that it was the ordinary point of departure from Epirus to Italy, the south-easterly breeze which was favourable for making the passage, having been called an Onchesmites[2]. Under the Constantinopolitan emperors the name Onchesmus assumed the form of Anchiasmus, which probably obtained the preference over Onchesmus in consequence of a tradition noticed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that the town was named after Anchises, father of Æneias[3]. Anchiasmus was a city of the government of Old Epirus, together with Phœnice and Buthrotum; the signature of the bishops of Anchiasmus is found to the acts of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon in the fifth century. The other bishops of Epirus whose names are annexed to the acts are those of Dodona, Nicopolis, Eurhœa, Phœnice, Hadrianopolis and Corcyra.

Dec. 22.—A Scirocco, which detained me yesterday, still continues, but though the gale has

[1] Ptolem. l. 3. c. 14. Strab. p. 324.

[2] Brundusium venimus VII. calend. Decemb. usi tuâ felicitate navigandi. Ita bellè nobis flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Onchesmites. Cicero ad Attic. l. 7. ep. 2.

[3] Dionys. Ant. Rom. l. 1. c. 51.

abated and the rain ceased, the Agoiátes, (*Italicè* vetturini,) are unwilling to go, and my host will not take upon himself to oblige them, until some person arrives from Délvino, who will report the rivers practicable. The consequence is, that I am not only detained this day, but the 23d Dec. likewise; for although some horsemen arrived yesterday, about 3 P.M., who had crossed the river, it was then too late to depart, and at night the rain set in again in torrents with thunder and lightning, penetrating the bare tiles of the collector's roof, and pouring down all night a black stream from the smoky tiles. The tempest continues the greater part of the day, but the wind having come to the north promises a change of weather.

The feasts, the fasts, and the fears of the Greeks, are a great impediment to the traveller. During their feasts they will not work; the fasts, when prolonged and rigidly observed, render them unequal to any great exertion, while timidity is the necessary consequence of the Turkish yoke following long ages of the debasing tyranny and superstition of the Byzantine empire. But through this unamiable covering the ancient national character continually breaks forth; to which, in this mountainous part of the country, is added a considerable portion of the industry and activity of a northern race. Every traveller will occasionally be disgusted with the meanness, lying, and cowardice of the people, in the towns and in the parts of the country most frequented by travellers; but it should be remembered that their vices arise

from their condition, that deceit is the only defence which their tyrants have left them, and that such defects are greater in proportion to that natural genius which is indisputably inherent in the race. They have a proverb, that the sweetest wine makes the sourest vinegar, which is well exemplified in their own character by means of a most corrupt despotic government acting upon a fine natural genius.

Dec. 24.—At 10, A.M., we set out in the rain from the Liméni, cross the hollow between the monastery and the village of the Forty Saints, and at the end of three quarters of an hour ford a small stream descending from Nívitza into the Pavla, which is the principal river of the plain of Délvino. The passage of this tributary is so difficult in consequence of the rain, that there seems little chance of the main stream being passable. Our conductors, moreover, are ignorant of the πέραμα, or proper ford of the latter river; we are obliged therefore to follow its bank upwards, until immediately below Nívitza we meet a party of horsemen, who have been making an attempt to cross without success. We retire, therefore, for the night to Nívitza.

The mountain on the mid-slope of which this village stands, is separated on either side by a valley from the rest of the maritime range, and is fortified to the eastward as well by the steepness of the mountain as by the rapid river at the foot of it. So rugged is the ascent, and so bad our cattle, that we are two hours in reaching the village from the river, the mules having fallen several times

under their loads. The Vezír's Bulu-báshi, a rough Albanian Musulman, receives us kindly as the friends of his master, and we take up our lodging at the best Greek house in the place. Many of the soldiers and inhabitants speak Italian; one of them is son of a major in the Reali Cacciatori Albanesi of Naples, in which corps he himself served many years.

Nívitza was once a large and flourishing town, and the most important of the independent Christian communities, which then extended along the whole coast from *Buthrotum* to *Aulon*. By means of the strength of its position it resisted all the attempts of Alý Pashá to reduce it, until the year 1798, when he persuaded the French to connive at his conveying a body of Albanians in his own vessels through the Straits; an operation which had constantly been interdicted by the Venetians on the strength of their treaties with the Porte, but which was conceded on this occasion by the French, as they were then anxious to conciliate Alý with a view to their designs upon Turkey, and little suspected perhaps the use which he intended to make of their permission. He landed his troops at the Skales of Nívitza and the Forty Saints; and the better to ensure success, made choice of the morning of Easter Sunday for the time of attack, when the inhabitants were all disarmed and engaged in prayers. He thus made an easy conquest, not only of Nívitza, but of two other villages to the northward, the possession of which has now given him all the coast as far as the town of Khimára. Nívitza and the two villages are now little better

than ruins; their lands, divided into portions, are numbered among the Pashá's tjiftliks; and it is for the use of those who cultivate them that the Pashá has built the new village of the Forty Saints, while many of the inhabitants of Nívitza have been sent to labour on his farms near Tríkkala in *Thessaly*.

Dec. 25.—A mile to the northward of Nívitza, on the same mountain, stands Aio Vasíli, one of the villages which shared the fate of Nívitza: a little below it a ridge which connects the mountain with the range to the northward, is occupied by a small square fortress, similar to that of the Forty Saints, and which was erected by the Pashá soon after he had obtained possession of Nívitza. About a mile below this castle is the Skala of Nívitza and St. Basil, called Spiliá. The rugged hills below Nívitza, to the eastward, are planted with olives and vines: the plain produces Mesíri (maize), kalambókki[1] (Guinea corn), fasúlia (kidney-beans), rizi (rice), wheat, barley, and tobacco. Having descended the mountain, we cross the river at the extremity of the plain, near the opening where it

[1] The word καλαμπόκκιον (derived from its reed-like stem καλάμι, and applicable therefore to every kind of Holcus) is much more commonly applied in Greece to maize, or Indian corn, of which bread is made in every part of the country, than to the Sorgum, or Guinea corn, of which not much is raised, and that chiefly for feeding poultry. Mesíri from Mesr (Egypt), which in this part of Albania means maize, is a misnomer, inasmuch as the Durra, of which bread is commonly made in that country, is not the maize, but the Guinea-corn.

issues from the mountains : it is not very deep, but extremely rapid, and the stony bed is such an insecure footing for the horses, that they tremble in crossing it. Both horse and rider must trust to the guide who walks on foot beside them, supports both, and repeats his recommendation to the rider to look at the bank, and not at the water, which causes giddiness. I did not experience that effect, but the illusion of appearing to remain stationary, while really moving, was perfect. The sources of this river are in the mountains eastward of Khimára, and its course, for the most part, is through a narrow valley, in which is situated Kaliása. Half an hour beyond the river, we cross the torrent of Délvino, and at noon enter the pass of Délvino, from which the torrent flows. Kyr Khrísto Kanáki, to whom I had letters, happens to be in the country, superintending his vineyards, but I am received in his house, and he returns home in the evening. Dhélvino, or Délvino[1], is situated in an opening of the lower ridges of a high range of mountains which have a S.S.E. direction. The town is chiefly inhabited by Musulman Albanians, who have eight or ten small mosques. Of Greeks who occupy only the eastern suburb called Láka, there are about thirty families, ten of which bear the same surname as Kyr Khristo. The Bishop and K. are the chief men ; the former, who is now absent, styles himself Bishop of Khimára and Délvino, and is a suffragan of the Metropolitan of Ioánnina. The Turkish houses occupy the sides of the hills on

[1] Δέλβινος, or Ντέλβινος.

either side of the torrent, for a distance of two miles, being situated as usual in Albanian towns, at great distances from one another, with a view to the frequent quarrels and wars among the φάραις, or family alliances, into which all Albanian communities are divided. The effects of these, and of a war between the Pashás Alý and Mustafá, which lasted seven years, have left many of the houses in ruins. The war ended by putting Alý in possession of Délvino, and sending Mustafá to take shelter in Tjamuriá, where he now resides at Vakalátes, a small town two or three hours eastward of *Buthrotum*.

At the entrance of Délvino, on a conspicuous height, stands the deserted serái of Selím Bey Koka, a connection of Alý Pashá, but who, having taken part with Mustafá, has not thought himself safe here, and has retired to Konispoli, where, however, he still enjoys the revenue of his landed property in the district of Délvino. A little within the opening of the hills, a conical rock, projecting over the ravine, is crowned with a small castle in bad repair. The ground on either side of the ravine abounds in springs and streamlets falling down to the torrent, and although the most uneven imaginable, bears olives and other fruit trees. The Pashá's palace is a heap of ruins, but there still remain in the same quarter, on the northern side of the town, some good houses, pleasantly situated among gardens, in which are orange-trees, cypresses, and poplars. The Christians of Délvino make wine, and comb and spin some imported

hemp into yarn, from which they manufacture shoes. Swords too, such as the Albanians wear, are made here, and every part of their muskets except the barrels. Below the castle there is a miserable bazár.

On account of the difficulty of passing the river, I had no opportunity of examining a Paleó-kastro at Finíki (Φοινίκη), of which I received information. The name, however, is sufficient to show it to be the Phœnice of Strabo and Polybius, which the former describes as being near Buthrotum, and which the itineraries place exactly in this position between the Acroceraunia and Buthrotum: it stood on an insulated hill, in the middle of the plain between the river of Kaliása, and another, named Vistrítza, which flows from the north-east, and beyond Finíki pursues a course nearly parallel to the former river, as far as the lake, into which they separately fall.

My host complains to me, in the usual style, of the hardships which his nation suffers from the Turks, and asks why the great powers of Europe, but particularly the English, will not assist in liberating their fellow-Christians. It is not a very agreeable task to explain, that nations seldom act but from self-interest, that we have a cruel war on our hands, and that our present policy is to support the Turkish empire. The poor Greeks have not much more to hope for at present from any other nation. If either French or Russians, in their military occupation of the country, were obliged to derive their resources from it, the

Greeks might find the necessities of a French or Russian general not less fatal to their liberty and property than those of Alý, whose officers are kept in the best possible order, however relentless his own extortion may be. The sentiments of the Greeks, as well in this as in other parts of Greece which I have visited, show that the conduct of the Russians in the Greek expeditions of Catherine, as well as in the administration of the Septinsular Republic, has left a very unfavorable impression: so far from desiring the presence of these brethren of their church, as might have been supposed, they much more commonly bestow upon them the appellations of Κλέφτες and Ζῶα. On the other hand, they seem quite ready to hail the arrival of the French, though they are cautious of giving utterance to these sentiments, not so much from any fear of their own government, for at this moment they have perhaps more liberty of speech upon such subjects than any people on the continent of Europe; but from doubts lest they should give offence to European governments or their agents, whose influence with the Turks might be fatal to an offending individual. My host admits, that were any pretended deliverers to land, there would hardly be the Greek who would venture to furnish them provisions, much less to join them, so much do they dread the Turkish sabre, and so little energy have they to act in their own behalf.

Dec. 26.—At half past eight this morning we begin to ascend the mountain at the back of Délvino. Its sides are covered with extensive

vineyards, yielding a light pleasant wine, but which generally turns sour before the summer. The pass leads between rugged and barren hills, two of the highest summits of the range, until, at half past ten, we arrive at the little village of Kardhikáki, where are the sources of one of the streams which contribute to form the Vistrítza. Here we fall in with some Musulman Albanians, hunting hares with greyhounds of a large breed. The peasants are ploughing the ground, with a light plough drawn by two oxen; they afterwards break the clods with a hoe. At 11.10 a hollow country is on our right, four or five miles in diameter, surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, and watered by several streams, which unite to form the Vistrítza. The slopes, although intersected and broken by the torrents in the most rugged, and wildest manner, are well clothed with vineyards and olive-trees.

Having skirted the edge of this basin as far as the village of Morzená, we there join the road from Vutzindró, which is hardly passable at this time on account of the rivers. A little beyond Morzená is a Dervéni, or guard-house [1], in a spot where the road begins to descend into the plain of Arghyrókastro through a narrow opening between two very steep and lofty summits. The descent is long and rugged; and it is not until 2 P.M.

[1] Ντερβένι. The Greek form of the Turkish word Dervént is applied in Greece to the Guard-House as well as to the Defile.

that we arrive in the plain at the Dervéni of Garbítzi, or Grábitza, so called from a small neighbouring village. Here the opening is no more than a torrent-bed between lofty rocks. The wretched mules which we took from the Forty Saints move so slowly that the horizontal distance from Délvino to this place is probably not more than 9 geographical miles. Nothing can be less inviting or picturesque than the present appearance of the valley of Arghyrókastro, though undoubtedly it presents a very different appearance in spring, as its numerous villages and extensive cultivation show that it is one of the most flourishing districts in Albania. Those parts which are now little better than a marsh in consequence of the perfect level, are in summer richly covered with corn, maize, and tobacco. Opposite to Garbítzi the plain is about five miles broad, bounded by two parallel mountains of varied surface, woody, and studded with villages in the lower parts, and rising above to steep ridges of calcareous rock, the summits of which are now covered with snow, and the bare sides furrowed with white charadræ, or beds of winter torrents: along the middle of the valley flows a river in a direction from south to north. Our road on emerging from the pass, changes from an eastern to a north-western direction, along the foot of the mountain; and at the end of three miles we halt for the night, at the little village of Theriakhátes [1]. The Papás, in whose house I lodge, is a cultivator of land,

[1] Θεριαχάτες.

holding it of the Musulman lord of the village, who supplies seed and cattle, and takes half the produce. He asserts that in summer, not only the plain is quite dry, but the river also, and that the air is not unhealthy. This perhaps is chiefly owing to the situation of the villages on the sides of the hills. They are for the most part surrounded with vineyards and a few olives. Opposite to Theriakhátes is the town of Libókhovo[1], situated, like Délvino, in an opening through which appears a parallel range still higher than that which borders the plain, and with a greater quantity of snow upon it. This high ridge is called Nemértzika[2]. The pass of Libókhovo leads to Perméti, or Premedí, which stands on the eastern foot of Mount Nemértzika, in the vale of the Viósa. In the hollow country between the two ranges behind Libókhovo, and extending from thence along the mountains towards Tepeléni, is the Albanian district of Lientja[3], in Greek Λιουντζαριὰ, the country of the Λιούντζιδες. These people are noted for their skill in the irrigation of land, and the management of aquæducts, and in that capacity obtain employment at Constantinople, and in other distant parts of the Turkish empire. To the south of the Liúntzidhes is the district called Pogóniani, or Pogóyani, of which Dhelvináki is the chief place; and to the north-east-

[1] Λιμπώχοβος.

[2] Νεμέρτζικα.

[3] The italic *e* is here employed to represent the English sound of u in *turn*. The word is derived perhaps from λόγγος, forest, with an Albanian sound.

ward, that of Zagoriá. The Zagoriáni inhabit the banks of a stream, which joins the Viósa between Klisúra and Tepeléni.

Below Libókhovo, on the skirts of the plain, are seen some buildings where the snuff is made for which this valley is celebrated; and in the mid plain, which is here about four miles across, the Papás points out to me a mound near the left bank of the river, which by the description seems to be a small theatre[1]. It is now inaccessible, the plain being a marsh quite up to the rocks of Theriakhátes. The whole valley is called by the Greeks Derópoli, which the Albanians pronounce Derópugl[2]: the river is named Dhryno, or Dryno, or Druno, or river of Derópoli. Arghyrókastro, the chief town, contains about 2000 Musulman families; Libókhovo half that number; in each are about 100 Christian houses.

The road to Ioánnina from the dervéni of Grábitza follows up the plain of Derópoli to the southward. At a quarter of an hour it crosses a branch of the Dryno, half an hour further another branch; and a quarter of an hour beyond, the main stream of the river. The road soon afterwards ascends the eastern hills, from which many torrents descend into the river, after having turned some more snuff-mills. It then enters Pogóyani, leaves Dhelvináki

[1] Dr. Holland visited this position in the year 1813, and ascertained that the ruin is really a small theatre, apparently of Roman times.

[2] The *gl* is intended to represent the Italian sound of that combination. But it may be observed, that the Albanians generally give this guttural sound to the Greek lambda.

on the left, crosses again to the left bank of the Dryno, which originates in the mountains around Dhelvináki, passes through the valleys of Xeróvalto and Tzerovína, crosses the Kalamá near its sources, and from thence proceeds into the plain of Ioánnina.

Dec. 27.—At half-past seven this morning we continue to skirt the foot of the mountain in a northerly direction, advancing very slowly through rocky ground, or along the edge of the marshy plain, and leaving several small villages on the heights above us, until ten, when we arrive at the point of a low projecting ridge, where the river, wide, deep, and rapid, approaches so near to the heights as to leave only a passage for the road. On the point stands the village of Kulorítza, and on a similar projection, two miles further, the town of Arghyrókastro.

Not thinking it right to visit this place, as Alý Pashá and the Kastrítes[1], or rather a powerful party in the town, are at present in a state of mutual obversation, we leave it on the left, and crossing a high narrow bridge of four arches below the town, halt a little beyond it for twenty minutes at a fountain. The plain here is not more than a mile and a half in breadth, and is all in pasture. Arghyrókastro occupies a large space of ground, being divided into separate clusters of houses, which are defended from one another by deep ravines. The mountain on which it stands is bare and deficient in water, and it is difficult to imagine

[1] οἱ Καστρίται.

a more disadvantageous situation, except with a view to the interminable disputes among the Albanian fáres, for here the hostile families, separated from each other by rocks and ravines, may cherish their quarrels for years together without any effectual result.

In the plain between Libókhovo and Arghyrókastro, the Dryno is joined by the Sukha, which rises in Mount Nemértzika, and after watering the fertile valley of the Liúntzidhes, to the eastward of Libókhovo, enters the plain through a narrow opening on the northern side of that town. Having reached a projection of the eastern hills, we coast them for two or three miles, strike again across a part of the plain, and at 1·15 arrive at a Khan called Valaré, or in the Albanian pronunciation, Valiaré, situated on the right bank of a torrent which descends obliquely from the mountain into the Dryno. The Khan[1] is reckoned five hours from Tepeléni; the road thither lying along the foot of the mountain, and over some low heights which project from it. Finding it impossible, with such cattle as we have, to reach Tepeléni to-night, we follow the torrent at the foot of the eastern mountain, which here projects considerably into the valley, and forms a variety of lower heights.

Instead of stopping at Garianí[2], which is at the entrance of these hills, we are induced, in search of better accommodation, to proceed to Lábovo, which is asserted to be only half an hour higher

[1] See a note on Khan Valiaré at the end of this volume.

[2] Γκαριανὴ, Καργιανή.

on the mountain. We ascend accordingly by a winding path, which is not the better for being paved, as half the stones have been displaced by the torrents, but see nothing of Lábovo for two hours, nor until we had entered the clouds, which have settled upon the hills with a southerly wind, and brought on rain.

Λάμποβος, vulgarly pronounced Liábovo, according to the guttural sound of the *l* in Albanian, is situated not far below one of the highest summits of the range, but in a situation where a more gradual slope than that which we ascended admits of space for the scattered houses of the village, and for some vineyards and fields of kalambókki. It is entirely Christian, and there are eight or ten churches, besides those in the detached quarters, for, like the larger Albanian villages in general, Lábovo consists of several detached makhalás. They suffered last year from a deficient harvest, and derive no advantage from being near Tepeléni, as the Vezír Alý, when he visits his native place, calls upon Lábovo among other neighbouring places to furnish him with provision for his household, particularly eggs, poultry, and wood. On the summit of the ridge above Lábovo stands Tjaiúbe, in a situation so exposed to storms, that it is necessary to pile stones and earth upon the roofs to prevent them from being blown away, although composed of heavy masses of stone. From a peak of this ridge, called Strakavétzi, the monastery of Aghio Naúm, near Bitólia, is said to be visible.

Dec. 28.—Very soon after quitting Lábovo, (at

half-past eight,) the town of Kardhíki, or Gardhíki, appears over the northern extremity of the range of Arghyrókastro, on a height surrounded by a valley through which the Bélitza river takes its course to join the Dryno. The junction of these two streams occurs a little below the Khan Valiaré, between it and a bridge over the united river.

The slopes of the mountain of Lábovo, as far as the river Viósa, are well cultivated, and contain many villages. One of the largest of these, named Khórmovo [1], resisted for a long time the growing power of Alý Pashá, when at length, about nine years ago, he took it, murdered the male inhabitants, and burned alive the Prift [2], who commanded the village, in revenge for the ill-treatment which Alý's mother and sister had suffered from this man and others, when they were made prisoners, by the allied forces of Khórmovo and Gardhíki, soon after the death of Alý's father.

In something less than two hours we arrive at the foot of the mountain, on the right bank of the Dryno, which, between the bridge of Arghyrókastro, where we crossed it, and this place, has received, besides the Bélitza and torrent of Valaré, a contribution much larger than either from a source at the foot of the mountain about midway between Arghyrókastro and the Bélitza, so that here the river is almost twice as large as at the bridge of Arghyrókastro. The great source just mentioned is said to be the only portion of the

[1] Χόρμοβος. [2] Priest in Albanian.

river permanent in very dry seasons. The stream now enters a narrow vale between two mountains; that to the west is united with ridges which inclose on every side the valley of Gardhíki; the eastern, on which stands Khórmovo, is a westerly projection of the mountain of Lábovo. We cross the river by the bridge of the Subáshi, so named; which has three arches resting upon piers, with arched openings in them. The middle arch, which is much the largest, is pointed at the top, and its height is equal to about two thirds of the span. The roadway is so narrow and roughly paved, and the structure so high, that it is scarcely ever passed but on foot. From the bridge to Tepeléni, the distance is about six miles—two thirds along the Dryno, and the remainder on the bank of the Viósa [1], after it has received the Dryno. The road has been paved, but as the mountain rises immediately above it, the torrent has carried away the pavement in many parts, and left a track just passable.

The fortress and serái of the Vezír, standing on a tabular projection, surrounded by cliffs towards the river, have an imposing appearance at a distance, and are quite in harmony with the sublime scenery around. The village of Tepeléni, indeed, which consists of not more than eighty or ninety Musulman families, with a small detached suburb of Christians, is no great embellishment to the scene; but upon the whole, the palace is one of the most romantic and delightful country-houses

[1] Βιῶσα, otherwise called Βοοῦσα, or Βουῆσσα.

that can be imagined. The height is the termination of one of the counterforts of a snowy range of mountains, bordering the vale of the Viósa to the west, and is defended on the northern side by the ravine of a stream called Bantja[1], which, though sometimes dry in summer, now pours a large supply into the Viósa. The village is surrounded by vineyards which produce a poor red wine; beyond which, wheat and barley are the produce of the higher lands around; and kalambókki that of the low level on the banks of the river.

Immediately above Tepeléni, the piers of a ruined bridge stretch across the Viósa, the arches of which were carried away three years ago by an inundation, and are now supplied by a temporary wooden communication. From the opposite bank of the river rises a steep and lofty mountain, named Trebushín; on the side of which are a Tekiéh, or convent of dervises, and a village named Petzísti.

Mount Trebushín is separated only from the similar mountain of Khórmovo by the Viósa, which at two miles above Tepeléni emerges from a bogházi, or narrow gorge[2], between the two mountains, and joining the Dryno, spreads over a space of near half a mile; where the river is divided by sand-banks into several streams now deep and broad, but some of which have no existence in summer.

Mount Trebushín sends forth a branch to the

[1] Μπάντζα. [2] Μπογάζι, from the Turkish bohaz, *throat*.

northward, which extends to the Illyrian plains, between Berát and Avlóna, bounding the vale of the Viósa, below Tepeléni, on the eastern side, opposite to the parallel ridge before mentioned, of which the highest summit (not seen from Tepeléni), is named in Albanian Griva (grey), from its being constantly covered with snow, except for a short time in the middle of summer. The southerly and westerly winds, which have now prevailed for a fortnight, have melted the snow on the western side of all the mountains, but have left it in considerable quantity on the opposite face of them.

The narrow ravine between Trebushín and the mountain of Khórmovo, from which the Viósa emerges, is called τὰ Στενὰ τῆς Βιώσας, or the Straits of the Viósa. It extends four hours to the eastward, throughout which distance the river flows between two high mountains, every where steep, and in some places perpendicular. The Stená terminate at the village of Klisúra [1], above which the valley widens, and from thence continues to be nearly of the same breadth for a considerable distance beyond Premedí. At Klisúra Alý has built a fortress, in a lofty situation, above the right bank of the river, and is thus master of both ends of this important defile.

There can be little doubt that this pass is the celebrated Fauces Antigonenses, or Aoi Stena, near Antigoneia, in which Philip, son of Deme-

[1] Κλεισοῦρα, from κλείω: a word of middle Greek, often applied to a pass, or a place situated in a pass.

trius, attempted in vain to arrest the progress of the Roman consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, through Epirus.

Dec. 31.—The road from Tepeléni to Nívitza leads along the river Bantza (in Albanian Benja), through a hollow in the range of Griva, from which that river descends. This pass conducts to Pregonáti, situated at the head of the valley of the Sútzista, which descends to Nívitza, and joins the Viósa in the plain of *Apollonia*. Thus Tepeléni, in all the four quarters, is approached by a narrow valley; from the east and north by that of the Viósa, from the south by the valley of the Dryno, and from the west by that of the Bantza. On the left bank of the Bantza, three or four miles above Tepeléni, is a ruined castle, bearing the same name as the river. It occupies the summit of a height, and incloses about two acres. Nothing is left but the foundations, except at the upper end, where are some remains of a round tower, of very thick and regular courses of masonry, cemented with a great quantity of mortar. The shape and position of the castle, and its citadel at the round tower, incline me to think that the fortress is ancient, although no part of the masonry resembles the massy and beautiful constructions of the southern Greeks. On the opposite bank of the river, not a mile above the ruins, is the small village Bantza, which is said to have been built about thirty years ago by one of the fáres, or family alliances of Pregonáti, which, in consequence of the internal disputes of that town, and the superiority acquired by their opponents, had been obliged to leave it.

Several other small villages were founded at that time in the country around Pregonáti from the same cause. It may be thought, perhaps, that Bantza is a corruption of Amantia, and that it proves that ancient city to have stood either at Bantza or at Tepeléni, but *Amantia* was certainly much nearer to *Aulon*, and Bantza may, perhaps, be the ancient name, with scarcely any change[1]. Below Tepeléni the Viósa continues to flow for twelve hours between the two ranges of mountains already mentioned, as far as Grádista, sometimes closely confined between rocky banks, at others leaving small plains, or cultivated open heights, on either side, and thus the country is divided by nature into districts, each of which contains several villages, generally small. The first of the plains below Tepeléni is that of Lópesi, pronounced Liópesi by the Albanians, of which the chief village is named Dukái, in Greek Dukádhes. Here is a ruin on the left bank of the river, similar to that of Bantza. Opposite to Lópesi, a quarter of an hour from the right bank of the river, stands Vásari, or Váshari, according to the usual Albanian and vulgar Greek pronunciation of the sigma. On the opposite side, one hour from Dukái, is Saralí, distant half an hour from the left bank of the river, from whence there is a road across Mount Griva to Nívitza, by a ravine called Gróbate Pliákes, or the vale of the old woman, so

[1] The Βαντίοι were a people of Thrace; and Βάντεια was the name of an Italian town, imported probably from Greece. V. Stephan. in Βάντεια.

called because a woman was once frozen to death in passing. Continuing from Saralí on the way to Avlóna, occurs, at the end of an hour and a half, Dhumbliáni, containing three hundred houses, and situated at the same distance from the Viósa as Saralí; three hours beyond it is Kúdhesi, of five hundred houses, the chief town of a district containing several villages, and situated on the mountain, which commands the fork of the rivers Viósa and Sútzista.

On the river side, below Lópesi, is the district of Kalútzi, separated from that of Lópesi by a rocky shore, on which stands another ruined fortress, near the village of Lunji, which is about half way between Tepeléni and Grádista. Another rocky shore terminates Kalútzi on the left bank, beyond which the country begins to open towards the plain; then occurs Karvunári, a town of Kúdhesi, then Grádista, on the right bank, and Selenítza on the left, where are the mines of fossil pitch described by Strabo; and then the junction of the Viósa with the Sútzista, or river of Nívitza.

From all I can learn, the most considerable Hellenic cities in this part of the country were at Grádista and Nívitza. If the latter was *Amantia*, as I can hardly doubt from the strong testimony of the ancient authors, the former was probably *Byllis*[1],

[1] Dr. Holland, who visited Grádista in 1813, has determined this question by the Latin inscription which he copied there, and which, although very imperfect, attests that M. Valerius Maximus had made a road through rugged passes from the Roman colony of Bullis to some other place. This Colonia Bullidensis is mentioned by Pliny (l. 4, c. 10),

or *Bullis*, for Byllis, Amantia and Apollonia were the three principal cities in the vicinity of the Gulf of Aulon.

This evening the Dervises mount to the top of Mount Trebushín; and on their return declare the new moon visible, though the sky is so clouded that the sun could not have been seen, had it been above the horizon. Several guns are then fired at intervals of five minutes, and the rioting of the Bairam begins.

Knowing how little the Musulman Albanians care for the ceremonies or the doctrines of their religion, I was surprised to find them, on my arrival, keeping the Ramazán so correctly. Not a pipe was to be seen till the muezzín had called the

but we have no knowledge of the time of its establishment. The inscription is not earlier than the reign of Trajan, as appears by the frequent occurrence of the word Ulpia. Although it can hardly be doubted that the Roman colony occupied the same position as the Greek city, it is remarkable that both Stephanus and Ptolemy place Byllis on the sea coast; the latter between Aulon and Amantia. Livy also, by stating (l. 36, c. 7,) that Hannibal proposed to Antiochus to collect his forces in the Byllinus ager preparatory to his passing over into Italy, shows that a part at least of the district was adjacent to the sea. Possibly both Ptolemy and Stephanus referred to a λιμήν, or maritime establishment of the Bylliones, which at one period may have been as important as the city itself. If the Amantini had in like manner a maritime dependency, the arrangement of Ptolemy is perfectly explained: his order being "the mouth of the Aous, Aulon, Bullis, Amantia, the mouth of the Celydnus, Oricum, the Acroceraunia." Celydnus, as I before remarked, is the only name that appears to be out of its place.

evening prayer from the minaret of the Pashá's mosque. But the Vezír, though he generally drinks wine openly at table, seems to think it right to set a good Musulman example to the wild Tóskidhes and Liápidhes of his native mountains, whose ancestors probably adopted the fast the more readily from its resembling one of the observances of the church from which they apostatized, without being so severe a penance as the Christian Lent. In fact, the Ramazán is no mortification at all in winter, when the short days leave the Musulmans at liberty to feast as early as five in the evening.

Alý's sons, Mukhtár and Velý, were born by a daughter of Kaplán Pashá, of Délvino. His third son, Salíh, who is only three or four years old, was by a slave. It does not appear that the sons have been educated in such a manner as can adapt them for preserving the power which the father has founded, or that he himself looks much farther in this respect than other Turks. Indeed, a Turk, or Musulman Albanian, not short-sighted, avaricious, or intent upon momentary advantages, would be a rarissima avis. Alý is his own Kehayá and Hasnadár, trusts not even his own sons, and transacts every thing himself, except where writing is required, when he dictates to a Turkish or Greek secretary. His own writing is execrably bad, and his Greek orthography worse; the little that he learnt when a boy having been almost lost by that want of practice caused by the custom common in every part of the east among the great, of always employing a secretary. Turkish he can

read, but never attempts to write, though it formed a part of his education: in fact it is not much wanted, except for some formal letters to the Porte, or to some of the Pashás of Rumilí; his communications with the government being chiefly carried on in Greek by means of his Kapi-Tjokhadár, or acknowledged agent, residing at Constantinople. With the Albanians his written correspondence is in Greek, except perhaps in a few rare cases where he wishes his missive to be publicly read in Albanian, in which case it is written in that language with Greek characters.

The person of most importance under the Vezír is Sulimán, the Seliktár Agá, now absent. It is said that his influence in southern Albania is such, that in the event of the Pashá's death, he might place himself at the head of a party at least equal to those of Mukhtár or Velý, for little doubt seems to be entertained that the two brothers will be opposed to each other. Already the symptoms of this future civil war are apparent. Mukhtár, knowing that by money he can always command the affections of the Albanians, is a thesaurizer, while his brother, who is a mere sensualist, but with much more talent than Mukhtár, is much less provident.

Another person in whom the Vezír places great confidence, is Yusúf Agá Arápi, nominally His Highness's Hasnadár, in whose house, now occupied by his son, Bekír Agá, I am lodged. He has always been employed by the Vezír in the management of the Dervénia, and hence is thoroughly acquainted with the country, from the

frontiers of Dalmatia to the isthmus of Corinth. He is described as a man of talent and activity, extremely attached to his master, brave, ferocious, active, and cruel. Two other officers, whom the Vezír generally keeps near him, are Tatza Bulubáshi, a Musulman, and Athanási Váia, a Christian, the ready instruments of many an atrocious act of cruelty. All these persons, including the Pashá's sons, are usually dressed in the Albanian fashion, with a coat or jacket covered with gold lace, and a shirt falling down in folds over the drawers, resembling the drapery of the Roman statues. When new and clean it is a beautiful costume; but a clean shirt is not a weekly luxury even with all the higher classes [1]; and among the soldiers it is sometimes worn out without ever being washed, though occasionally taken off, and held over the fire, that the animals contained in it, intoxicated by the smoke, may fall into the fire, when a crackling announces the success of the operation. Sometimes during the first two or three weeks of a new shirt or waistcoat, or when particularly desirous of making a favourable appearance, they wear a collar of cotton, impregnated with oxyde of mercury, which forms a barrier to the more aspiring natives, and keeps them out of sight. The same want of cleanliness pervades every class in proportion, in all their domestic arrangements. Alý himself has been so accustomed to the rudest Albanian life in his

[1] Volney remarked, in a part of Turkey, more refined in its manners, that even Pashas did not count their shirts by dozens.

youth, that the dirtiness of his people gives him little disgust, and as policy obliges him to receive the lowest Albanian with familiarity and apparent confidence, to allow them to approach him, to kiss the hem of his garment, to touch his hand, and to stand near him while they converse with him, his dress is often covered with vermin, and there is no small danger of acquiring these companions by sitting on his sofa, where they are often seen crawling amidst embroidered velvet and cloth of gold.

A Diván Efféndi and a Turkish Secretary, both πολίταις, or natives of Constantinople, form a part also of Alý's court. They preserve the Turkish costume, and look upon the Albanians with that mixture of fear and contempt, which is the general feeling of the Turks towards this nation. Through the medium of the Constantinopolitans residing with him, and that of his own resident at the Porte, Alý manages the good understanding, which he has the policy to keep up with the supreme government. He makes frequent presents to the Validé Sultána, and her powerful Kehayá Yusúf. He has augmented his dominions as much by the intermarriages of his family with the chieftains around him, as by his military or political skill. Arghyrókastro and Libókhovo have been brought under his influence chiefly by the marriage of his sister, Khainítza, with Sulimán, of Arghyrókastro, sometime Pashá of Tríkkala, whose son, Adém Bey, now resides with his mother, as Governor of Libókhovo, under the orders of the Vezír, having succeeded in this post to his bro-

ther, Elmás Bey, who died not long since at Ioánnina.

Alý has no other relatives except his grandchildren. His sister, before she married Sulimán of Arghyrókastro, was the wife of Sulimán's brother, Alý, by whom she had a daughter married to Velý, Bey of Klisúra. It is said that Alý, of Arghyrókastro, was murdered by his brother, in concert with Alý of Tepeléni, and his sister: it is certain, at least, that Sulimán, very soon after his brother's death, married the widow. Eight years ago Alý obtained possession of Klisúra, by murdering his nephew-in-law, the Bey, together with his younger brother, whom he had enticed to Ioánnina, to assist at the nuptials of his son Velý with the daughter of Ibrahím Pashá, by which alliance the peace between the two Vezírs was ratified. Alý pretended to have discovered that not only the Bey, but his brother, who had accompanied him, had been engaged in a plot against the Vezír. By this act Alý cleared away all the claimants to Klisúra: a most important point, which secures Tepeléni and Premedí, and opens the road to Berát.

At Arghyrókastro, as in other independent towns of Albania, the power was formerly divided among several leagues, whose chieftains were continually at war. At present, Mortezá Bey, brother of Sulimán Pashá, chiefly by his alliance with Alý, is at the head of the strongest party [1].

Mutja Hushúf (Albanian for Musa Yusúf, or

[1] See a note on Arghyrókastro at the end of this volume.

Moses Joseph) was the name of Alý's great grandfather, from whom the family are called in Greek οἱ Μουτζαχουσσάτες. My host, Bekír Agá, asserts, that Hushúf conquered all Albania with his sabre[1], which, though a mere amplification, shows that his power was considerable. His son, Mukhtár, accompanied the expedition of Kara Mustafá, the Seraskier of Sultan Hamíd III., in union with the fleet of the Kapitán Pashá Djanum Khodja against Corfú, in the year 1716, when the island was defended by Marshal Schulemberg, whose statue still remains in the Citadel, erected by the Venetian republic, in gratitude for this defence of the island. Mukhtár was killed in the siege, having fallen in the assault of the fortress; and it is believed in Albania that his sword is still kept at Corfú, among the trophies of that expedition. Velý, the father of Alý, was the youngest of three brothers, or half-brothers, but having succeeded in destroying the two elder, became the head of the house. He died at an early age, leaving Alý a child in the care of his mother Khanko, daughter of a Bey of Kónitza, who was of the same family as Kurt Pashá of Berát, at that time the most powerful chieftain in Albania. Alý has now been a Vezír for about four years, and is not a little proud of the third tail, which the Porte has generally been very unwilling to confer upon Albanians. Having bestowed it upon Alý, they gave it also to the two Ibrahíms, in order to keep the balance of power even.

[1] Μὲ τὸ σπαθίτου.

Alý disgusts all the Franks who come to seek their fortune in his service, by his parsimony. He scarcely ever gives them any fixed pay, whatever he may have promised, but confines himself to making them presents in clothes and money, when they perform any particular service. If they are not married, he is always anxious to provide them with wives, that he may have hostages to prevent their leaving the place. Those who have to provide for the different departments of his household, are said to be the only persons who enrich themselves in his service.

The Franks at present in the Vezír's service are a Milanese, who had previously been employed by the Pashás of Berát and Skodra, and who has undertaken to complete a foundry at Ioánnina: there are also a French engineer, a carpenter, who makes gun carriages, a Dalmatian watchmaker, and an Italian smith. These people, though really able men in their professions, will soon be forced to leave his service from the want of encouragement.

Plutarch informs us, that Pyrrhus was an assiduous courtier, and studious when young of acquiring the friendship of powerful persons. This is generally the Albanian character. They are anxious to secure the favour of their superiors, and faithful to them while regularly paid. Their revolts which so often occur, are generally caused by the ill-faith of the employers, who often begin an enterprize without sufficient pecuniary means, trusting to success for an augmentation of them.

The Albanians, being generally poorer than the Turks, are more moderate in their expectations, more patient and persevering, more familiar with hardships from their infancy, but equally greedy of money, and much more saving. The Albanian soldier will either plunder or live on the hardest fare, as circumstances may require, to save his pay; his prime object being to return home with a well-filled girdle; for the zone, as among the Romans, is the treasury of the Albanian. Their military qualities are rather shown in the ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι, than in the ἄνδρασιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι, and their wars consist entirely in stratagem, rapine, and ambuscade, though few of them are deficient in personal courage, when the occasion calls for it. One of the advantages of the Albanians is their independence of other countries for the greater part of the manufactures of that rude kind with which they are content. Their arms are all made in Albania, with the exception of the gun-barrels, the greater part of which are from the north of Italy, though an inferior kind both of musquet and pistol-barrels are made at Skódra, Prisrénd, Kalkándere, Prístina, and Grevená: gun locks are made both in Greece and Albania; some I have seen from Karpenísi, in *Ætolia*, which have a polish (if that be any merit) equal to those of England. The kind of musquet, however, which the Albanians use is very inconvenient, and is adapted only to their own irregular discipline, being long and heavy, without any balance of weight in the

stock, which is particularly thin and light, and the piece is thus incapable of an aim without resting.

The coarse woollen cloth used for the outer garments of the Albanians is chiefly made at Skódra. It is a thick white coarse cloth, which wears well, and when adorned with a broad lace, forms one of the handsomest national costumes in Europe. It is much superior in quality to that of the black kapa, or outer cloak, made in all the mountains of Northern Greece, and which is very generally worn by the shepherds, peasants, and lower orders both of Greece and Albania, as well as by the mariners of the Greek and Adriatic seas.

The Pashá asserts, that in the country, of which Tepeléni gives him the command, there are not less than 16000 men armed with musquets, who are considered among the best soldiers in Albania. However correct this numeration may be, it is certain, at least, that Albania is better peopled than any equal portion of European Turkey, that notwithstanding the great number of the soldiery employed abroad, it maintains its population, and that every male, from his infancy, is familiar with the use of arms. The Vezír describes Albania as 200 hours in length; in one half of which his own influence predominates, while the remainder is about equally divided between Ibrahím Pashá of Berát, and Ibrahím Pashá of Skódra. He admits, however, that there are still some chieftains who do not acknowledge the authority of the three. Nor is it likely that the country will ever quietly submit to a single hand, although this is evidently the object of all

the Vezír's actions. The quarrels of the chieftains are the delight of the inferior classes, and a constant source of profit to them. As the former are of every degree of power, the minor agree with the more powerful for the hire of their service, and that of their followers. When the hostile parties are persons of great authority, one of their first considerations is the employment of skilful agents to treat for the services of the inferior chieftains, or to make any other bargains useful to the cause.

It often happens in the course of a campaign, between two contending powers, that a village, a single house, a tábia, a meterís[1], or an occupied position, is bought from the possessors by the opposite party, and though the villages on the hostile frontier generally suffer, yet, as Albanian houses are quickly constructed, such injuries are often unworthy of consideration compared with the advantage which the inhabitants derive from their purchase by the contending parties. Sometimes the head of a family, who is known to be able to command a certain number of tufeks, privately meets the emissary of the chief who wishes to engage his services; he endeavours to raise the lufé, or daily pay, of each man as high as possible; next requires so many lufés for those whom he is to engage to take care of his house in his absence;

[1] These are Turkish words. The meterís is a trench which, with the earth thrown outwards, is just sufficient to serve as a breastwork; and the top of which furnishes the rest necessary for firing the tufék or musquet. The tábia is a redoubt of the same kind of construction as the meterís.

then a farther acknowledgment, perhaps, to enable him to raise a meterís in some important spot for the defence of the house, or any other pretext of the same kind. When the bargain is finally made, he ties round his waist all the money paid in advance, makes the best provision he can for the care of his family, and comes into the field with half, or at most two thirds, of the men whom he is paid for, and remains, perhaps, only until he can make a new bargain with the opponents. Such treachery, however, although not uncommon among the poorest tribes of Albania, is not held in estimation, unless upon a very large scale, and for some great object. It may easily be conceived, that with such customs the Albanians have a particular objection to a *muster*. I have seen a Grand Vezír attempt it, when, instead of effecting his object, he had the upper part of his tent perforated in a hundred places with musquet-shot. The operations of Albanian warfare in the field being chiefly confined to dodging behind trees and firing at long distances from cover, and few but the chiefs being in earnest, their campaigns are tardy and expensive, and their wars seldom of any great duration, or productive of decisive results. Ultimate success, of course, is sure to attend the treasury which is the best provided.

The Albanians are fond of the chase, and almost every man of landed property keeps greyhounds for coursing the hare, which is their favourite sport. The Vezír has an establishment here, and a few days ago brought home six hares and a fox. He sent me his horses and dogs one day, with an

order to Bekír Agá to accompany me, but the weather prevented us from going. There is no want of red-legged partridges on the hills, but netting is the only mode by which they are taken.

The greater number of Alý's subjects being Christians, he is very watchful over the bishops, often employs them as instruments of extortion, and is careful that every act of theirs shall tend to the stability and extension of his own power. He often requires their attendance at Ioánnina, or wherever he may happen to be, and shows them favour, so far as to support their authority over the Christians, and sometimes to assist them with a little military force if it should be necessary for the collection of their dues, which consist chiefly in a fixed contribution from every Christian house. They are not exempt, however, from those occasional calls upon their purses, from which no man within his reach is free whom he considers capable of paying. The most important of his ecclesiastical ministers is the metropolitan bishop of Ioánnina, a Naxiote by birth, whose diocese comprehends the greater part of Epirus. I overtook him at the bridge of the Subáshi, on his way to court.

His ἐπαρχία, or province, contains four subordinate sees; namely, 1. Velá, Βελᾶς; 2. Dhrynópoli, Δρυϊνοπόλεως; 3. Délvino and Khimára, Δελβίνου καὶ Χειμάρας; 4. Vuthrotó and Glyký, Βουθρωτοῦ καὶ Γλυκέως. Of these, Délvino and Khimára only remain, the two others being traceable only by their ruins; of the first the residence is Kónitza; of the second, Arghyrókastro; of the fourth, Paramythía. The northern limit of the bishopric of

Drynópolis, or Arghyrókastro, is the bridge of Tepeléni. To the eastward it comprehends Zagoriá, and borders upon the province of Κορυτζὰ, a town situated a day's journey from Premedí, to the north-eastward.

In the episcopal province of Ioánnina the number of Musulmans bears a small proportion to that of the Christians, but in that of Korytzá there are many villages entirely Mahometan; in some, Mahometans are married to Greek women, the sons are educated as Turks, and the daughters as Christians; and pork and mutton are eaten at the same table. The province of Beligrád, or Berát, borders on that of Korytzá to the westward; its metropolitan is styled bishop of Velágrada, the form which the Greeks have given to the Sclavonic word Beligrád. In the provinces of Korytzá and Velágrada, as well as further north, the Musulman faith is supposed by the bishop of Ioánnina to be rapidly increasing. Instances have occurred of the apostasy of whole villages at a time. This happened in particular among the Karamuratátes, who inhabit Mount Nemértzika, and the neighbouring valley of the Viósa.

Such examples, with the advantages, which a nation of mercenary soldiers cannot but find in belonging to the dominant religion, instead of one which renders them objects of contempt and ill-treatment to those in power, are powerful motives to a rapid increase of apostasy. Meantime, the Christians who are employed in a larger proportion than the Musulmans, in pursuits of agriculture or trade, have a tendency to retreat from

the oppression of their countrymen of the adverse faith, or to occupy lands in Greece or elsewhere, where labour is wanted; and thus there is every prospect of Albania, once a Christian country, becoming, at no distant period of time, almost entirely Mahometan. Apostasy has had similar effects among the Sclavonic nations of European Turkey, extending from Greece to the Danube, but by no means in the same proportion, unless it be in Bosnia.

The bishop relates to me that the Khormovítes were notorious robbers before they were reduced by the Vezír. Their favourite place of action was the Pass of Tepeléni, where one of their priests used to enter a hollow tree which stands between Tepeléni and the bridge, while others lay in wait by the side of the road, and stopped the passengers until this Dodonæan Oracle was consulted. If the passenger was a Mahometan, the oracular voice generally ordered him to be stripped and hung upon the tree; if he was a Christian, belonging to a hostile village, he was perhaps dragged through the river. In other cases the Oracle was generally satisfied with sending the unlucky wight forward on foot, after his horse or ass had been taken from him.

Jan. 2, 1805.—In consequence of a violent rain last night, the Bantza and Viósa have swelled to a great height, so that the former occupies the whole of its bed, which at the mouth is three or four hundred yards across, and the Viósa, which is nearly half a mile broad below the junction, pours even above it such a flood of water against the

bridge of Tepeléni, that it has almost over-topped the old piers, and threatens with ruin some masses of masonry which the Pashá has erected on the piers to support the wooden planks, now serving instead of the four arches which were carried away. Passengers still continue to cross from either bank, but the Vezír, fearful not so much for their safety perhaps as for that of the bridge, sits all the afternoon in a kiosk at one corner of his harém, looking towards it with anxiety. A Dervísh observing him, goes out and dances upon the bridge, harangues the trees brought down by the stream as they pass through it, and at last makes a kurbán, or sacrifice, of a black lamb and two white ones, pouring the blood upon one of the piers. After this ceremony the populace seems satisfied that the safety of the bridge is insured, and in fact no accident occurs.

Both the ruined work and the temporary repair were erected by a Greek engineer who is building, with better success, a massy tower at the Serái. The piers have openings, with pointed arches and large spurs opposed to the current, but the whole work is obviously deficient in solidity, and the *Aous* will probably continue to be indignant of a bridge, until it has a master more liberal of expence, and who will employ an architect better acquainted with modern improvements in this branch of his art. The Albanians endeavour to supply the place of solidity by making the arches of their bridges of an excessive height, which method they allege is subject only to the inconvenience of obliging the traveller to dismount, while

it admits of a great economy of materials, the breadth of a bridge being of little moment in a country where there are no wheel carriages. The Vezír expresses great disappointment at the failure of his attempts to establish a bridge at Tepeléni, as it causes a detour by that of the Dryno, and by another in the Stená, in order to reach the opposite bank when the river is not fordable; and, moreover, obliges his Highness on these occasions to enter the Pass of Klisúra, where, if the stout Tóskidhes of the neighbouring villages should prove rebellious, he might find himself in danger.

Adjoining to a mosque which he built near his palace some years since, is a garden, which was then laid out for him by a Frenchman. On the wall which bounds it towards the river three guns are mounted, and two small kiosks are built. The garden is now in a neglected state, serving only to include the poultry which the Pashá obliges the villages around to supply. There are now between five and six hundred fowls in the garden, forty or fifty of which die every day in consequence of exposure to the rain, and want of food; not because there is any deficiency of barley or kalambókki, but because the purveyor sells it, laying the fault upon the weather and want of shelter, and knowing that as fast as the fowls die, the deficiency will be supplied by the villages.

It is said, that Tepeléni once formed an alliance with two other villages; namely, Dámesi, two hours to the north-east, on the direct road to Berát, over Mount Trebushín; and Dragóti, which stands

a little within the Pass of the Viósa above its right bank, and that at the head of the league was a woman named Helen. May not Tepeléni be τάφος Ἑλένης? The Turks call it Tepedellen; the Albanians, Tebelen. There is a superstitious belief, that the houses in the village can never exceed one hundred. The Greek suburb, at the western extremity of the promontory on the edge of the hill over the Bantza, had lately so increased as to approach the Turkish quarter, and to give hopes that the spell would be broken; but last year a plague, which swept off whole families, put a stop to the increase of houses, and has left its marks in numerous recent graves, some of which have been opened by the late heavy rains.

Jan. 4.—Many Albanian chiefs have arrived here within these few days to pay their homage to Alý; among others Abdullá Pashá of Elbassán. They all come attended with followers armed to the teeth, in numbers proportioned to the power and rank of the chiefs. Their array in approaching, and their introduction to the Vezír, afford some fine pictures of feudal life, which carry one back in imagination to Europe in the tenth century; for the Turkish conquest of Albania has not merely prevented this country from partaking in the improvement of the rest of Europe, but has carried it in manners some centuries further back than it was at the time of the conquest, and, with the extension of the Mahometan religion, will render it every day more savage, and less capable of improvement.

Among other persons who have arrived, is Mehmét Efféndi, Alý's secretary for foreign affairs. This Mehmét is a Roman, whose name was Marco Quirini. He was a member of the inquisition at Rome, lived six years at Aleppo as a missionary of the Society de Propagandâ Fide, and would have succeeded, so he says, to the bishopric of Bombay, had he not, in a fit of ennui, left Aleppo a year before the term of his residence expired. Happening to be at Malta at the time of the arrival of the French expedition to Egypt, he was appointed by Buonaparte, in consequence of the knowledge of Arabic which he had acquired at Aleppo, his secretary-interpreter, but becoming tired of his situation at the end of three months, he sailed for Europe, was taken by a Dulciniote cruizer near Cape Stylo, and brought prisoner to Ioánnina. Here, in despair of acquiring his liberty, and having persuaded himself that the Turkish religion would suit him, or at least recommend him to the Pashá, whose service he was tempted to enter, he renounced the errors of his youth, became a true believer, and now argues, with much Italian eloquence, that the Islám is the only reasonable faith existing. At Aleppo he acquired a little English, together with his Arabic. He is a man of acuteness, sense, and learning, and assuredly will most bitterly deplore the impatience of temper which has caused him to exchange such inconsiderable privations as he met with at Aleppo, or in Egypt, for the hard service of an Albanian master, among comrades with whom he can scarcely exchange

an idea. The Pashá has, according to his usual policy, already persuaded him to take a wife, and now that he has him in his power, scarcely gives him the means of existence[1].

[1] After several years of this wretched life, Quirini was so fortunate as to return to civilized Europe, and died at Paris a Christian.

CHAPTER II.

EPIRUS.

Return from Tepeléni—Lizáti—Stepézi—Dhrynópoli—River Bélitza—Kardhíki—The Gulimidhes—Zuláti—Pass of Skarfitza—Sénitza—Paleavlí—Délvino—Finíki, *Phœnice*—Capture of *Phœnice* by the Illyrians—*Helicranum*—*Antigoneia*—*Phanote*—*Elæus*—*Hadrianopolis*—*Dryinopolis*—The *Argyrini*—Sail from the Forty Saints to Port Palérimo—Lúkovo—Pikérnes—Sopotó—Kieperó—Khimára, *Chimæra*—Khimáriote towns; their troops, manners, &c.—Return by sea to the Forty Saints—Hexamíli—Tetránisa—*Cassiope*—*Posidium*—The Livári or fishery—*Buthrotum*; port *Pelodes*—Lake, river, bay, and district of Vutzindró—Lake Riza—Geography of the coast of Epirus opposite to Corfú.

Jan. 6.—This afternoon I return from Tepeléni, by the same road as far as the bridge of the Subáshi. The village of Dragóti being only hid from Tepeléni by a projection of Mount Trebushín, soon becomes visible, and opposite to it Kotra, on a height above the junction of the Viósa and Dryno; then farther southward, on the western face of the same mountain, Lekhlí; and then Khórmovo. Opposite to Lekhlí we pass under the village of Lizáti, of two hundred houses, and meet Aidín Agá of Kaliása with a long suite of palikária[1] on foot, on their way to court. A little short of the bridge of the Subáshi is the hollow plane-tree where the robbers of Khórmovo formerly lay in

[1] παλικάρια, from H. πάλλαξ, *juvenis*.

wait for travellers. Here, on both sides of the river, the space is very narrow at the foot of the mountain, and on both sides there is a road; that which proceeds from the bridge along the foot of the mountain of Khórmovo and Lekhlí enters the Stená, and follows the left bank of the Viósa as far as the vale of Kieperí, which is watered by a tributary of the river. The bridge over the Dryno was formerly below Khórmovo, but having been swept away by the river, it was replaced higher up by that of the Subáshi, which has now resisted the floods for several years.

Leaving the bridge to our left, we proceed in the direction of Arghyrókastro. On the face of its mountain, nearly opposite to Karianí, is seen Maskolúri, a large village, and above it the monastery of Trypi, just below the summit, which terminates the mountain at the opening of the valley of Kardhíki. A small village called Tzepo stands more to the northward in the middle region of this mountain, and below it is Khumelítza opposite to Stepézi, which latter stands on the northern side of the opening leading from the valley of Derópugl into that of Kardhíki. The Bélitza[1], which waters the vale of Kardhíki, flows in a ravine through the opening, and joins the Dryno in the plain as already stated. At Stepézi we halt for the night. At first the people were not willing to receive us; and when the Bulu-báshi who accompanies me threatened them, "We are poor," they replied, "and have nothing; we can but lose our lives;" but soon change their tone on learning, that con-

[1] Μπέλιτζα.

trary to the remonstrances of the Bulu-báshi, I had given directions to pay for every thing, and declare that if the King of England wants soldiers, the whole village, to the number of three hundred, is ready to enter into his service. "It would be easier," observes one of them, "to maintain fifty Albanian soldiers than one English." My konák is a hut which, like most of the houses in the Albanian villages, has no chimney, the fire being in the middle, and the smoke, after circulating for a while about the hut, finding its way out through the crevices of a roof covered with rude unformed tablets of calcareous stone, called πλάκες, anglicè flakes. These being large and thick, are for the most part held in place by their own weight alone, but sometimes great stones are laid upon them. The rafters within are generally hung with the store of maize, here called mesíri, in the state in which it is brought from the field. Above Stepézi, near the top of the mountain, is seen the small village of Petzarí; besides which, there are two or three others on the mountain not visible, so wretched as to be described in terms of compassion even by the Stepeziotes.

Below in the plain, about half-way between Stepézi and the Khan Valiaré, I perceive the ruins called Dhrynópoli, written in Greek Δρυϊνούπολις, which appears to have been a fortress, or small fortified town of the time of the lower empire. It stands nearly opposite to the junction of the Bélitza with the Dryno, and close by a ruined bridge over the torrent, which descends from the mountain of Lábovo.

Jan. 7.—I had intended to proceed from Stepézi by land to Palérimo, halting this evening at Kaliása, but the weather obliges us to alter our route. Soon after setting out, at 8.40, a distant movement in the plain towards Libókhovo announces the approach of Velý Pashá, who is coming to visit his father at Tepeléni. We cross over the heights forming the lower part of the mountain of Stepézi : the land is little cultivated, but we pass some large flocks of sheep and goats, the shepherds bear staves headed with hooks of copper. Woods of oak diversify the scene, but there are no trees of any great size. At the end of three hours we arrive on the Bélitza, in the valley of Kardhíki, which is inclosed on every side by steep and lofty mountains.

Kardhíki, or Gardhíki [1], is situated on the side and summit of a steep hill, on the right bank of the Bélitza, at the junction of a torrent flowing from the south-west through a ravine which forms a precipice on that side of the town. The situation of the place is one of the wildest that can be conceived, and its appearance is rendered more so by the season of the year. We are no sooner arrived, than a heavy fall of snow puts an end to our day's journey, and makes me well satisfied with a lodging in the house of Demír Agá till the morrow. Demír, commonly called Demír Dost, enjoys a degree of power such as few Albanian chiefs possess, and Kardhíki has the consequent advantage of internal tranquillity ; for in general

[1] Καρδίκιον, Γκαρδίκιον.

power is so nearly balanced between the leading parties in Albanian towns, that no one chief has sufficient influence to establish order. The unlimited power of Demír over the district of Kardhíki is at present chiefly owing to his good understanding with Alý Pashá. His government, he tells me, contains twenty villages, of which there are only three or four Greek. One of these is Khumelítza, famous for its tobacco, from which a snuff is made at Kardhíki, much esteemed by the Albanians, who, among other points in which they resemble the Highlanders of Scotland, are great snuff-takers. There are eight hundred Musulman families in Kardhíki, and twenty or thirty Greek houses on the opposite side of the ravine.

The mountains to the westward and northward of the district, as far as Khimára, Demír describes as inhabited by half-naked wretches living in villages, one of the hardiest and poorest races in existence: he calls them Gulimídhes, they form a subdivision of the great tribe named Liape, in Greek Liápidhes, a colony perhaps of the Lapithæ of Thessaly. One of the villages of the Gulimídhes, called Polióna, and exactly resembling Petzarí, is in sight from Kardhíki to the north-west, near the summit of the mountain.

The Musulmans of Kardhíki are not less anxious to serve the king of England, than the Christians of Stepézi; they observe that the use of the musket is their only art and their only property. The care of their fields and flocks they leave to the Christians.

Demír gives me a very particular and undoubt-

edly accurate account of the general topography of Albania, and of the divisions of its tribes; of which the following is the substance:

Rejecting the political chorography which has arisen since the Turkish conquest, the only important divisions of the Albanians are four: the Ngéghe, Tóshke, Liápe and Tjame, in Greek Γκέγκιδες, Τόσκιδες, Λάπιδες, or Λιάμπιδες, and Τζάμιδες: their respective countries are in Greek written Γκεγκεριὰ, Τοσκεριὰ, Λιαμπουριὰ, and Τζαμουριά. The Ngéghe possess the districts of Skodra, Kaváya, Króya, Týrana, Duras (in Italian Durazzo), Pekín, a part of the district of Elbasán, the two Dibras, and Djura on the Drin, Kúrtzova, Kalkándere, and Prístina. There is a large proportion of Latin Christians of this tribe, called Merdhítes, in the district of Skodra, who pay sixty paras a house to the Pashá of Skodra. They are considered as good soldiers as any of the Ngéghe. The Toshke extend northward from the frontier of Délvino to that of Pekín and Elbasán, bordering to the west upon the Liápe, and possessing Gardhíki, Arghyrókastro, Libókhovo, Premedí, Danglí, Kolónia, Skrapári, Berát, Malakástra, Mizakiá, Avlóna. The Liápe inhabit the entire maritime country to the southward and westward of the boundaries of the Toshke, and as far south as Délvino, where begin the Tjame, who occupy all the maritime country, as far as Suli inclusive, and inland to the Greek districts of Pogóniani and Ioánnina. Thus it appears that Tepeléni is in Liaburiá, and Alý Pashá a Liápe; but as the whole of this tribe is in

disrepute among the other Albanians for their poverty and predatory habits, he thinks proper to consider Tepeléni a part of Toskeriá, and who dares dispute his geography?

Demír Agá has a khódja in his house, as preceptor to his family, who has learned Arabic at Cairo, Turkish at Constantinople, and Greek at Agrafa. Demír takes no pains to conceal his dislike and suspicions of Alý, though he has always been on good terms with the Pashá, made war in conjunction with him against Khórmovo, and is still nominally his ally. By these means he maintains his authority at home, and hopes to save his country from falling entirely into the hands of the Vezír[1]. Alý, he says, has a Jew now in prison at Joánnina, from whom he has already extracted one hundred and forty purses, by threatening him with the loss of his head. But this mode of refreshing a treasury is no novelty in any part of the east; and I well remember the noseless and one-eyed victims of Djezzár to be seen in the streets of Acre. The Pashá never loses an opportunity of gratifying his resentment against those who took part against him in the war of Khórmovo. Only two days ago, on the representation of some person that a certain Labovite had been active against him on that occasion, he sent for the man and his son and put them both to death. The son received the order after the imprisonment of his father, and

[1] After the massacre which took place at the Khan of Valiaré in 1812, Demír was taken prisoner at Gardhíki, and suffered death at Ioánnina.

obeyed it, though he might easily have escaped, and was fully persuaded of the Vezír's intention.

At Kardhíki are some ruins of a castle, said to have been built by Sultan Bayazíd, when he conquered this country, but which is probably more ancient. There can be little or no doubt of its having been an Hellenic site, though I cannot find any remains of those times. The heights around the town are, for the most part, clothed with vineyards, producing a pleasant light wine, almost colourless, and which the Musulmans of the place have no scruple in drinking. Some wheat and barley are grown on the lower heights; the bottom of the vale produces scarcely any thing but kalam bókki, the soil being poor and stony, and subject to be overflowed by the river. Such situations are well adapted to that kind of grain which requires much moisture to feed its large succulent stems, and succeeds best therefore in levels which are either inundated by nature in the winter, or capable of artificial irrigation in summer; the abundant return of the grain also is very acceptable to a poor and numerous population like that of Albania. It is to the culture of maize and tobacco that some of the Albanians chiefly owe that skill in the conducting of water, for which they are noted in other parts of Turkey, and by means of which, as I have before remarked, the Liúntzidhes in particular obtain employment at Constantinople and other places.

Jan. 8.—At 8.30 we move from Kardhíki in the direction of an opening in the mountains to the south-west, called the Pass of Skarfítza; and at

9.45 arrive on the bank of the Bélitza, here flowing to the north, but which, after making the half tour of the hill of Kardhíki, has an eastern course through the opening of the valley between Khumelítza and Stepézi. Zuláti, which stands on the left bank of the river, on the lowest heights of the mountain, is on the road from Kardhíki to Bordji, a castle and village on the sea-coast between Nívitza of Délvino and Khimára. In approaching the pass of Skarfítza, we have a summit on the left, which lies between Arghyrókastro and Délvino, and near which is the village of Sopotí. A torrent descends from thence through a woody valley called Skotiní (dark), which is the resort of numerous flocks in summer. Having crossed two streams which join the Bélitza to our right, we begin soon after ten, the snow falling very thick, to ascend the mountain called Pilo-vúni, which bounds to the east the vale of Kaliása. The mountain is clothed with oaks, beeches, and planes, and many paths are seen, made by the shepherds and the cutters of timber and fire-wood: the oaks are not large.

The pass of Skarfítza separates the summit called Pilo-vúni from the mountain of Sopotí, the name Skarfítza is specifically applied to a Turkish fountain on the summit of the ridge, where the road begins to descend towards the plain of Délvino. At 10.45, not far from that fountain, we join the road from Khimára by Zuláti to Délvino, and then descend by a very difficult passage over rocks covered with snow, and along torrents bordered by planes, until we arrive in sight of Ní-

vitza, and soon afterwards of Kaliása, in a vale to the right. The river Pavla, which enters the plain of Finíki below Nívitza, leaves Kaliása on its right bank above the opening.

At 1 P.M. we come suddenly upon Sénitza, a Greek village on the side of the mountain of Sopotí, divided only by a ravine from the Turkish village Vergo, and looking down upon the plain of Délvino. The lower parts of the hills under these two places, though worn into the most rugged forms by the torrents, are richly covered with vineyards, mixed with poplars, olives, and cypresses. In the descent, Paleavlí (old court), a Turkish village, remains to the left, and above it the ruins of Kamenítza, which has been in the same state beyond the memory of the present race. Then turning still more to the eastward we arrive, at 4.15, at Délvino, where I reoccupy my lodging in the Greek quarter, sending the Albanian soldiers and suridjís (postillions), with their horses, to find a konák, according to the tenor of the Vezír's letter.

Jan. 9.—When preparing to set out this morning for the Forty Saints, the Bishop of Délvino comes to express his regret at my not having made his house my lodging, but was not sorry probably to escape the inconvenience attending the Turk and the horses. The bishop is of opinion, that in the district of Délvino, as in most other parts of Albania, the Musulmans are nearly equal in number to the Christians.

Sending forward the baggage to the Forty Saints, I proceed to Finíki, which lies to the left

of the direct road, about seven miles from Délvino, and do not arrive at the Skala until 4 in the afternoon. The entire hill of Finíki was surrounded by Hellenic walls. At the south-eastern extremity was the citadel, 200 yards in length, some of the walls of which are still extant, from twelve to twenty feet in height. The masonry is of the third kind, that is to say, it is laid in courses, but which are not very regular or equal, nor are the stones all quadrangular, although fitted to one another with the same nicety as in the second, or polygonal, and in the fourth, or most regular kind of Hellenic masonry. A stone in one of the fragments of wall is eight feet by six on the outside, and appears to be nearly as solid. In no part are there more than four or five courses remaining.

The modern village of Finíki, consisting of a few huts, lies directly under the citadel to the south-west. About the middle of the height is the emplacement of a very large theatre, the only remains of which are a small piece of rough wall, which encircled the back of the upper seats: at the bottom in the place of the scene is a small circular foundation, apparently that of a tower, of a later date. The theatre looked directly towards the village of the Forty Saints and Corfú. Between it and the north-western end of the citadel are the remains of a Roman construction, built in courses of tiles, alternating with a masonry formed of rough stones, mixed with a great quantity of mortar, and faced with square stones laid regularly in the mortar, but with the angles instead of the

sides uppermost: this mode of building was not uncommon in the decline of the Roman empire, and the beginning of that of Constantinople. There are some ruins of houses also of a still more modern construction, showing that Phœnice continued to flourish to a late period, when the chief part of the town appears to have been towards the river Vistrítza, which defended this height to the eastward, as the Pavla, or river of Kaliása did to the west.

In agreement with these appearances we find Phœnice to have been one of the cities of the government of old Epirus[1], under the successors of Constantine. It was among the places of this province, repaired by Justinian, who, as it had suffered inconvenience from the lowness of the situation, placed the new constructions on a neighbouring height[2]. On the hill of the Acropolis I find accordingly some remains of columns *in situ*, of that polygonal, instead of circular shape, which exactly marks the taste of the age of Justinian.

About the time when the Romans first gained a footing in Greece, Phœnice was the strongest, most powerful, and richest city in Epirus[3]; notwithstanding which, it was taken without a blow by the Illyrians, in the year B.C. 230. The ships of Agron having gained a victory over the Ætolians on the coast of Acarnania, and brought back a rich booty to Illyria, the king, in the height of his exultation, indulged to such an excess in the

[1] Hierocl. Synecd. Ed. Wess. p. 652.

[2] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 1.

[3] Polyb. l. 2, c. 6, 8.

pleasures of the table, that his death was the consequence. His widow, Teuta, who to the inheritance of his authority added a feminine disregard of consequences [1], ordered her officers to plunder all the ships which they should meet, and thus commissioned them to make war on all the world [2]. Their first object was a descent on Elis and Messenia; but the fleet having previously anchored on the coast, near Phœnice, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of provision [3], the commanders there entered into a conference with some Gallic mercenaries, who, to the number of 800, were employed by the Epirotes to garrison Phœnice, and by their assistance made themselves masters of the city.

The Epirotes seem to have been quite prepared to receive the Roman yoke; for their imprudence in trusting an important charge to a people notorious for perfidy, was not more remarkable than their defective discipline in some of the transactions which followed, though their first operation was well judged. Having collected their forces, and taken up a position on the bank of the river which flowed by Phœnice, they removed the planks of a bridge which communicated with the city, with the view of securing their camp against the Illyrians within the walls, and then sent a reinforcement to Antigoneia for the defence of the

[1] *χρωμένη λογισμοῖς γυναικείοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ γεγονὸς εὐτύχημα μόνον ἀποβλέπουσα, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς οὐδὲν περισκεπτομένη.* c. 4.

[2] *πᾶσαν ἀποδείξασα πολεμίαν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις.*

[3] *ἐπισιτισμοῦ χάριν.*—c. 5.

passes of the Aous against Scerdilaidas, a prince of the royal family of Illyria, of whose approach with 5000 men they had received information. Too well satisfied with these precautions, they neglected all further vigilance, and indulged without caution in the plenty which the rich district of Phœnice afforded. The Illyrians in the city soon took advantage of their fault: issuing at night from the town, they replaced the planks of the bridge, drove the Epirotes from their position, and the next morning beating them in the field, killed and captured many, and forced the remainder to retreat into Atintania. Soon afterwards Scerdilaidas arrived at Phœnice, apparently without having encountered the enemy's forces at the pass of Antigoneia. The Epirotes meantime obtained succour from the Ætolians and Achaians, and again marched toward Phœnice. The opposing forces met at a place named Helicranum, but no action ensued, partly in consequence of the difficulty of the ground [1], and partly because Teuta, alarmed by a defection of a part of the Illyrians to the Dardani, had sent orders to recal her forces from Epirus. Scerdilaidas, therefore, retraced his steps through the pass of Antigoneia [2], after having made a treaty by which Phœnice, together with the free prisoners, were restored to the Epirotes, and the slaves and plunder were embarked in the Illyrian ships. So great was the booty, and such the encourage-

[1] διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν τόπων, c. 6.

[2] Οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκερδιλαΐδαν πεζῇ πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ τῶν παρὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνειαν στενῶν.

ment which it gave to Teuta, that she thought of nothing but plundering the cities of Greece, while the ungrateful Epirotes soon afterwards joined the Acarnanes in an alliance with Illyria against their benefactors of Achaia and Ætolia. It is probable that the route of Scerdilaidas, both in coming and returning, was by the way of Gardhíki and the pass of Skarfítza, and that the Epirotes retreated as well as returned by the pass of Morzená or Délvino, that having been the route from *Phœnice* towards *Atintania*. *Helicranum* I take to have been the modern Délvino, for the castle hill at the entrance of a very important pass is such a position as could hardly have been left unoccupied by the ancients; and the rugged ground about it accords exactly with the words of the historian.

The ascertaining of the position of *Phœnice* is extremely useful in illustrating the topography of all the adjacent part of *Chaonia*, and greatly assists in forming an opinion on the difficult question of the site of *Antigoneia*. How it happened that Scerdilaidas met with no opposition at the Antigoneian passes, the historian has not stated, but he expressly asserts that the prince took this road both in going and in returning. As Scodra was the royal residence, we cannot doubt that, after crossing the open maritime country of Illyria, he entered the mountains of Epirus near *Bullis*, now Grádista, and followed the valley of the *Aous* to Tepeléni. The only other road he could have taken was by the modern Berát to Klisúra, which was not only more circuitous, but more dangerous, since it would have obliged him

to traverse the defile of the Viósa in its whole length, and afterwards that of its tributary the Dryno, above the junction, or in other words, the passes both of Klisúra and of Tepeléni. In the other case he not only avoided the pass of Klisúra, but followed a shorter road. It can hardly be questioned, therefore, that the Stena of Antigoneia intended by Polybius, was the pass to the southward of Tepeléni which leads from that town along the left bank of the Dryno towards Arghyrókastro.

But this could not have been the same pass where Philip, son of Demetrius, was defeated by the Romans under Quinctius, though Livy describes it as being at Antigoneia, and applies to it the same Greek word Stena, which Polybius employs on the former occasion[1]; for Philip was not defending the approach to Illyria, but that which led from the western coast of Epirus through the interior of this province into Upper Macedonia and Upper Thessaly, whither the Romans proceeded in pursuit of the enemy after having forced the Stená.

It is evident, therefore, upon examining the places themselves, that there were two passes, or rather a pass with two branches, one of which communicated from the maritime parts of Epirus in a northerly direction to the maritime plains of Illyria, the other leading eastward from the same country towards Upper Macedonia and Thessaly. The first is

[1] Quæ ad Antigoneam fauces sunt (Stena vocant Græci). Liv. l. 32, c. 5.—Livy hints that he derived his information on this great event from several authorities both Greek and Latin.

that which I have called the pass of Tepeléni; the latter is the Stená itself, as the defile is still called, which conducts along the Viósa from Tepeléni by Dragóti and Klisúra into the valley of Premedí. Antigoneia having given name to both passes, can only be sought for near their junction, where Tepeléni is the only place which has the appearance of an ancient site. We can arrive therefore at no other conclusion than that here stood Antigoneia. It may be admitted that in this case Antigoneia was too distant from the entrance of the Stená effectually to command that pass, but it entirely obstructs the other, and standing on a commanding height at the junction of a tributary, with the *Aous*, just at the point where the straits expand into a more open and fertile valley, it has all the requisites for the situation of a town of that importance which, from the ancient authorities, we may presume Antigoneia to have been [1].

The next question in the comparative geography of this part of Epirus is the situation of Phanote. In the winter of the year 170—169 B.C., Appius Claudius, anxious to repair the effects of his defeat in Illyria, marched from thence into Epirus, and laid siege to Phanote. But hearing soon afterwards that Perseus had entered Ætolia, and attacked Stratus, which was then defended by Popilius and his Ætolian allies, he raised the siege of Phanote, and began his retreat

[1] The name sounds as if it were not more ancient than the third century B.C., when it may have replaced one more ancient.

towards the plain of Elæon [1]. Clevas, the officer of Perseus, who with a strong garrison defended Phanote, followed the Romans, and, attacking them on a difficult road, by which they were obliged to pass along the foot of the mountains, killed 1000 and took 200 prisoners. Clevas, concerting operations with Philostratus, one of the Epirotes, who had endeavoured to betray Hostilius into the hands of Perseus in the preceding year, then crossed into the district of Antigoneia, and began to plunder the country, with a view to draw the garrison of Antigoneia into a valley, where Philostratus was placed in readiness to fall upon them. The stratagem completely succeeded, and the garrison of Antigoneia sustained a loss almost as great as that of Claudius. Clevas then moved towards the camp of Claudius in the plain of Elæon; but the latter had no inclination to engage, and finding that nothing was to be gained in Epirus, he dismissed his Epirote allies, and returned with the Italians into Illyricum.

Every circumstance in these transactions tends to show that Gardhíki was the site of Phanote. The strength and remarkable situation of that town, in the midst of a valley surrounded by an amphitheatre of mountains, through which there are only two narrow passes, are a sufficient presumption that it was the site of one of the principal fortresses of Chaonia, and the position midway between the channel of Corcyra and the Antigoneian passes would render it particularly

[1] in campo quem Elæona vocant.—c. 23, l. 43.

important to the Romans advancing from Illyria; and naturally the first object of Claudius, Antigoneia being already in the hands of the Romans or their allies.

The name of Phanote again occurs in a transaction which took place a few months earlier, and from which we learn that the most important military point on the Aous, in the line of communication between Macedonia and Epirus, was a bridge across that river, which, as Antigoneia is not mentioned on this occasion, would seem not to have been at that place or commanded by it. The consul, A. Hostilius Mancinus, proceeding to assume the command of the Roman armies in Thessaly, had arrived from Italy at Phanote, when the Epirote faction, adverse to the Romans, thought the time and place favorable to a design which they conceived of betraying Hostilius to Perseus, whom they urged by letters to hasten his march towards Epirus. But the Molossi, who were well disposed to the Romans, seized the bridge of the Aous, with the determination of preventing the Macedonians from crossing the river. Meantime the conspiracy was discovered, and revealed to Hostilius by his host, Nestor, of Oropus, upon which he returned to the sea-coast, embarked from thence for Anticyra, in the Corinthiac Gulf, and by that route proceeded into Thessaly [1].

Applying this narrative to the country along the banks of the Viósa, and to the general geography

[1] Polyb. l. 27, c. 14. Νέστορι τῷ Ὠρωπίῳ, as Gronovius has suggested, not Κρωπίῳ. Nestor was perhaps from Oropus of Thesprotia, mentioned by Stephanus in voce.

of Northern Greece, there can scarcely be a doubt that the bridge alluded to by Livy was in the Stená, about midway between Klisúra and Tepeléni, where the communication is now carried on by means of two bridges.

The route from Kardhíki towards Arghyrókastro, along the foot of the mountain, by Khumelítza, corresponds exactly to that in which Claudius was attacked by Clevas, if we suppose the plain *Elæon* to have been that between Arghyrókastro and Libókhovo, and Claudius to have pitched his camp about midway between those two towns. The name of the plain Elæon seems to show that a city Elæus, which Ptolemy classes with Phœnice and Antigoneia among the interior cities of Chaonia[1], occupied a position in this valley; and the name is the more remarkable, as we may suppose it to have been originally derived from the abundance of olive-trees in the district, in which respect it is well adapted to this valley of the Dryno; for although surrounded by lofty mountains covered with snow during a great part of the year, and one of the coldest parts of Epirus, the valley itself is one of the few situations in Greece or Albania, distant from the sea, where olive-trees are now found. The town of *Elæus* was probably situated on the heights, opposite to Arghyrókastro, where it is said that some remains of Hellenic walls still exist. The small theatre, and other ancient vestiges in the plain below Libókhovo, being of Roman construction, could not have existed at the time of the

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 14.

transactions related by Livy. They mark probably the position of a city which was founded by Hadrian and repaired by Justinian; and thence named first Hadrianopolis, and afterwards, but probably for a short time, Justinianopolis. Mention of Hadrianopolis occurs only in some authorities of the Byzantine empire of the sixth and seventh centuries, at which time it was one of the cities of the government of Old Epirus, as well as the see of a bishopric [1]. The only authority which gives any indication of its exact situation is the Tabular Itinerary. In this document there are two roads from Apollonia to Nicopolis: one (noticed also in the Antonine) which led near the sea-coast by the Acroceraunia, Phœnice, and Buthrotum; the other by Amantia and Hadrianopolis, which last is placed about midway between the two extremities of the road [2]. One route, therefore, passed through the plain of Délvino; the other, if *Amantia* was at Nivitza, ascended the vale of the Sútzista to that position, and from the head of the valley crossed by Pregonáti, into the plain of Arghyrókastro, which it followed in its entire length. It would, therefore, have passed exactly by the theatre, which stands not

[1] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 1. Act. Concil.—Hierocl. Synecd. Wessel. p. 651.—Tab. Peutinger, Segm. V.

[2] Aulona Apollonia xxv.; ad Acroceraunia xxiii.; Phœnice xli.; Butroto lvi.; Glycis Limen xxx.; Actia Nicopoli xx.;—Anton. It. Wessel. p. 329, 324. Apollonia xvi Aulona xxxiii Acroceraunia xli Phœnice lvi Butharotum viii ad Dianam xiii Ciclis Limen xx Actia Nicopoli. Apollonia xxx Amantia lv Hadrianopoli xxiv Ilio xii . . . . . xlv Actia Nicopoli. — Tab. Peutinger, *ibid.*

very far from the middle distance between Apollonia and Nicopolis. No great accuracy is to be expected on this point, as several of the distances in both the Itineraries are obviously erroneous.

The only objection to this position of Hadrianopolis is, that ten or twelve miles lower down the river are the ruins called Drynopolis, which name may easily be taken for a corruption of Hadrianopolis. These remains, however, and the theatre, are productions of two very different periods of time. The latter is a work of the Pagans during the Roman empire. Drynopolis was a fortress or small town of the Byzantine empire; the probability, therefore, is, that when Hadrianopolis fell to ruin, Drynopolis was built upon a different site, and became the see of the bishopric, first named from Hadrianopolis, then from Drynopolis, and which, after the ruin of the latter, was transferred to Arghyrókastro. Nor is Drynopolis a corruption of Hadrianopolis, but taken from the river on which it is situated, still called Dhryno, or Drino, or Druno, which may possibly be the ancient name still preserved of this branch of the *Aous*, and derived either from ἐρυς or from some native word which has given name also to another large river of Albania, the Drin, which flows from the lake of 'Akhridha into the Adriatic. As to Derópoli, or Derópugl, although this appellation is sometimes applied to the river, it belongs properly to the whole valley, and may perhaps be a corruption of Hadrianopolis, to which all this extensive plain probably belonged when the city was in its most flourishing condition.

Although Arghyrókastro has no very marked appearance of an ancient site, the name may possibly be derived from that of the Argyrini, whom Lycophron[1], and two Greek authors cited by Stephanus[2], show to have been an Epirote people, and whom Lycophron leads us to look for in the northern part of Epirus, as he couples them with the Acro Ceraunii: in fact the word Ἀργύρινος is still sometimes applied to a native of Arghyrókastro.

Jan. 10.—The scirocco has been constant at the Forty Saints since my departure, and the boat in which I crossed the channel was not able to return to Corfú till four days ago. Having prevailed upon the crew of another Corfiote boat, which had just arrived in the harbour with a lading of vallonéa for Corfú, to defer their passage thither until they have taken me to Palérimo and back, we sail for that port at 9.30 A.M., and arrive there at 2. The distance is about eighteen miles; the wind was a gentle Onchesmite, like that which carried over Cicero to Brundusium.

Between the Liméni of the Forty Saints and

[1] Πῆ δ' ἐκ Λιβύσσης αὖθις ἐμπίπτων νότος
Εἰς Ἀργυρίνους καὶ Κεραυνίων νάπας
Ἄξει, βαρεῖ πρηστῆρι κυμαίνων ἅλα,
Ἔνθα πλανήτην λυπρὸν ὄψονται βίον,
Λακμωνίου πίνοντες Αἴαντος ῥοάς.
Lycophr. v. 1016.

[2] Ἀργύρινοι, ἔθνος Ἠπειρωτικὸν ὡς Τίμαιος καὶ Θέων καὶ Λυκόφρων. Εἰς Ἀργυρίνους καὶ Κεραυνίων νάπας.—Stephan. in voce.

Spiliá, or the Skala of Nívitza, there are several small creeks where boats may find shelter. Spiliá is a creek at the mouth of a glen, where stands the ruin of a magazine which was destroyed by Alý Pashá when at war with Nívitza. Beyond it is Lúkovo, a small village on the side of the mountain, surrounded with terraces of vines and corn; two or three miles beyond which is Pikérnes, somewhat larger; and two miles further Sopotó. Below Lúkovo and Pikérnes are sandy beaches, where boats anchor, and may be stranded in bad weather. Sopotó stands in a glen, and has a castle named Bordji, on the top of a steep rock commanded by Hadji Beddó Agá, a partizan of the Vezír. Here are the only Turkish families on this coast. Behind Sopotó a river descends in a very deep and rocky ravine. A little farther north is Kieperó, on the edge of a steep precipice, below which are a few fields, terminating in a beach which is separated from Port Palérimo only by the point which shelters that harbour to the southward and eastward. Palérimo, the ancient Panormus, which Strabo describes as a great harbour in the midst of the Ceraunian mountains, and thus clearly distinguishes from the Panormus of Oricum[1], is divided into two bays by a rocky peninsula, projecting into the middle of it,

[1] Ὡρικὸν, ἡ ἀκρώρεια τῶν Ἀκροκεραυνίων ὀρέων, Πάνορμος λιμὴν, Ογχησμος λιμήν.
Ptolem. l. 3, c. 14.

Εἰσὶ χίλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τῶν Κεραυνίων ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου· ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐστὶ τῷ διαστήματι Πάνορμός τε, λιμὴν μέγας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ὄρεσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ογχησμος, λιμὴν ἄλλος, καθ' ὃν τὰ δυσμικὰ ἄκρα τῆς Κορκυραίας ἀντίκειται.
Strabo, p. 324.

on the summit of which stands the kastro, or fortress. This castle is nothing more than a small square enclosure containing a house, a church, and two four-pounders. Having brought a letter to the Bulu-báshi, or commandant, I land as soon as we arrive, and take shelter from the rain in his small apartment, which is the only one in the place having a chimney. On the side of the hills bordering the southern division of the port are a few cornfields and vineyards, which, together with some sheep on the hills, are tended by the ten soldiers who garrison the fort. Five of these are Musulmans, including the Bulu-báshi and his son; the others are Greeks. At the extremity of the northern harbour the hills are well cultivated, but these form part of the territory of the town of Khimára, which possesses the exclusive right of fishery in that division of the bay.

A gale accompanied with rain, which comes on at night from the south-east, brings a ship of Dultjúni, in Italian, Dulcigno[1], into the harbour, bound to that place from Alexandria. As the Dulciniotes have the reputation of being inclined to piracy, the garrison is alarmed, and prepares for defence. Indeed they had already been put upon the alert by our arrival, for our boat being from Corfú, the governor suspected some Russian treachery, and before my cot was conveyed into the castle, it was searched, lest it should contain concealed arms.

Last summer a French pirate boat, which was

[1] Written in modern Greek, Ντουλτζοῦνι: — the ancient Olcinium.

afterwards destroyed at Fanú by one of the British ships of war on this station, put into Palérimo, after having plundered some Maltese vessels under English colours; the Khimariotes formed a design of attacking it, on the plea of its being a pirate, but probably with a view of plunder; not agreeing however among themselves, the project failed.

Jan. 11.—The wind shifts to the westward, and the weather clears up at noon. At 1, accompanied by a servant, and preceded by one of the Corfiote boatmen and a guard from the castle, I proceed on foot to Khimára, no beasts of burthen being procurable, and the road scarcely admitting of their being employed. The captain of the Dulciniote, a bearded Turk, about seventy years of age, had offered to land me in the Bay of Khimára, and thus to save the detour along the side of the mountain; but when we came alongside his ship, his authority proved insufficient to obtain a party to row the boat. It appears that they are afraid of the Khimariotes. After crossing the ridge at the extremity of the northern bay, and climbing along the side of the hills which overhang the sea beyond it, we arrive at the end of an hour's walk from the castle, upon a little valley and beach where are some flocks. To the right, the sides of the mountains are grown with velanidhiés, or oaks, which produce the vallonea[1]; they still preserve their last year's leaves, but can hardly be called evergreens. We meet some shepherds to whom the sailor, with a few words of greeting, presents his snuff-box, the

[1] ἡ Βελανιδιὰ, *Quercus Ægilops*.

common compliment in Albania, and in these independent districts a necessary propitiation. In return the shepherds call off their dogs, which had made a general charge upon us.

We soon arrive in sight of Khimára, situated on the top of a pointed hill, and enter upon the cultivated land which surrounds it, consisting of extensive vineyards, some fields of wheat just springing up, and others of barley, which the peasants are ploughing, and will sow as soon as they can catch a short interval of fair weather. On a high summit under the mountains on the right is a monastery of the Panaghía, on the left the port of Khimára, near the shore of which are some water-mills, turned by a rivulet from the mountain. The harbour is exposed to the west, but affords good shelter to small vessels from any other wind, and has a fine beach. There is another more open *spiaggia*, two miles farther to the north, immediately below the town, where boats are hauled up on the beach. Here is a small plain which, with the side of the hill between this plain and the village, is the best cultivated part of the territory of Khimára. Immediately below the village are some gardens, containing vines, olives, cypresses, and fruit-trees.

At half-past three we arrive at the house of Capt. Zakharías, the son of George[1], vulgarly called Zakho-Ghiórghi, for whom I have a letter of introduction from Z. the collector, my host of the Forty Saints. The house is as humble a dwelling

[1] Ζαχαρίας Γεωργίου.

as any captain's in Albania. In the inner room a fire in the middle of the floor, and a mattrass spread by the side of it, are the luxuries speedily arranged for me. Capt. George, who has attained the ordinary bounds of life, and has never been absent from his native village except three years passed in the Neapolitan service, expresses his delight at seeing an Englishman here for the first time. Two Germans some years ago, calling themselves Englishmen, left a certificate with Capt. Constantine Andrútzi, which proves the imposture. Capt. Z.'s family consists of a son, the widow of another son killed in the service of the King of Naples, and two or three of his children. All are employed in preparing supper, but principally the widow. The dishes are baked, and a dingy towel spread close to the cinders, serves both for table and tablecloth. The Captain, and the sailor from the boat, who is honoured as a guest, are the only persons who join the table.

After supper all the heads of houses friendly to Zakho-Ghiórghi come in and seat themselves cross-legged around the fire. They relate their adventures in the Neapolitan or other services, for most of the Khimariotes seek a livelihood as soldiers abroad. One states that he was in the war of Italy with Buonaparte, who made many inquiries of him concerning this part of Albania, and told him at Trieste, that he meant to send 40,000 men to Corfú, and as many more to Avlóna. They all speak with pride of their liberty, meaning their exemption from Turkish oppression, at the same time that they lament their own internal anarchy

and dissensions, and agree that they should be happy to receive the blessing of good government from the hands of any sovereign in Europe except the Turk, whom they are always determined to resist. They neither pay the kharátj nor any other tax, except a contribution of thirty parás a head *per annum* to Ibrahím Pashá of Berát, for the liberty of trading to his ports. The right of pasturage on the lands of the town of Khimára, that of gathering velanídhi on the mountains, and that of fishing in the northern bay of Palérimo are enjoyed in common by all the inhabitants. Maize is grown in the plain adjacent to the northern beach, where the two torrents, which embrace the town, overflow in the winter, and prepare the land for receiving that grain. Wheat is produced within the territory, more than sufficient for the annual consumption of the place in favorable seasons; but for two or three years past they have hardly reaped enough for six months. Velanídhi, a small quantity of wheat in good years, and sometimes a little wine, which is of a dry kind and without flavour, are the only exports. The mountain behind Khimára is said to abound in firs suited for masts, which might be brought down at a small expense, and would be a profitable undertaking, if poverty and dissension admitted of it.

The village, or city as the natives are pleased to qualify it, of Khimára[1], more commonly pronounced according to the Italian *κακοφωνία* Tjimára, contains 300 families: divided into five principal

[1] Χειμάρα.

alliances called parentie in Italian, and in Greek φρατρίαις, a classical word which I hardly expected to find in Albania. With one or other of these, all the inferior families are in alliance. The fratríes are, 1. The Lyganátes[1], consisting of sixty or seventy houses, at the head of which is Alexódhemo[2], son of Aléxi; 2. The Tzakanátes[3], of which my host Zakho-Ghiórghi is the πρῶτος: it has upwards of eighty houses; 3. The Koykádhes[4], of which Zakharías Andrútzu[5] is the chief: of these there are about forty-five houses; 4. The Mazátes[6], of whom John Tragýnus[7] is the chief; and, 5. The Κοκουρτάδες, of whom Andrew Polus[8] is the head. The first and second are the only families, at present, who are not on speaking terms, but last August there was a scuffle with sabres between Constantine, the brother of the chief of the third family, and Alexódhemo, the head of the first, in which some wounds were received before the quarrel was adjusted, and the contending parties restored to an exchange of words. Another brother of the Andrútzi is now lieutenant-colonel of one of the regiments of Cacciatori Albanesi in the Neapolitan service. His major is a native of the town of Vunó. Constantine Andrútzi informs me that he was twenty-eight years in the Neapolitan service, that he deserted to the French when they took Naples, but that not obtaining any employment or encouragement from them, he returned to his

[1] Λυγανάτες.
[2] Ἀλεξόδημος Ἀλεξίου.
[3] Τζακανάτες.
[4] Κωγυκάδες.
[5] Ζαχαρίας Ανδρούτζου, or Ἀντρούτζου.
[6] Μαζάτες.
[7] Ἰωάννης Τραγύνους.
[8] Ανδρέας Πόλους.

native country. When General Villettes was raising a corps of Albanians for the British service, C. Andrútzi was sent for to Corfú to agree upon the terms on the part of the Khimariotes. He speaks and reads Italian and French, is tolerably informed on the history and antiquities of this country, wishes much to enter the English service, and asserts that we may easily raise a body of 800 Khimariotes from the free villages of Khimára, and, with the permission of the Turks, twice that number in the neighbouring districts.

There are about 100 pensioners of the King of Naples in the town, officers included, who are paid by Capt. Zakho, for which purpose he visits Corfú every year to receive the pay from the Neapolitan consul, whose agent he is. He receives a pension of twelve ducats a month for his own military services, four more for the consolato or agency, and eight ducats for the widow of a son who fell in the service. So handsome a provision after a short personal service can only be considered as intended to secure an influential agent in the place, for Zakho-Ghiórghi is looked up to as the chief man in Khimára by all except those who side with the Lyganátes, and who, of course, consider Alexódhemo the chief. The feud between the two parties is of long standing; the most remarkable contest occurred ten or twelve years ago, when many lives are said to have been lost. The heads of the fratríes are those who possess the largest proportion of vineyards, cornfields, and flocks; and they form the council of the family league. Between friendly fratríes disputes are easily made up, though even

among them the foundation and last resource of the law is the *lex talionis*. As in Arabia, a murder may be acquitted for money. At Khimára 2000 Turkish piastres are the usual price of blood ; at the next village of Vunó it is 1000. Until this be paid the retaliation goes on. The power of the heads of families, Capt. Zakho observes, is merely the influence of property and character, and is neither asserted nor acknowledged. "That man," pointing to an attendant, "though he receives his pay from me, will do nothing I order unless he pleases." He shows, however, at the same time, that he can desire the man to bring his kapa and lay it on his shoulders. There are several soldiers here on leave of absence, during which they receive their pay. One has a twelvemonth's leave. The pay of a private is 28 grani *per diem;* that of a serjeant-major 34 ; of a captain 80 ducats a month ; of a lieutenant-colonel 110 ; but they find their own arms and clothes. A Neapolitan soldier has not half as much. There are three or four Khimariote captains now recruiting here for their corps at Naples.

The Khimariotes often intermarry with the people of Vunó, the territory of which is separated only from that of Khimára by the crest of the ridge to the north-westward, which looks down upon Vunó. But notwithstanding these alliances, the two towns are generally on terms of suspicion, and often in open hostility. This, indeed, is the ordinary condition of two neighbouring towns in Albania, and, by a natural consequence, those which are separated from one another by a third territory are

generally in alliance, which in fact is not uncommon on a larger scale in other parts of the world.

The name of Khimára is generally applied to the whole of the ancient *Acroceraunian* ridge, from Cape Kefalí to Cape Glossa, including the valley of *Oricum*. The towns are in the following order from south to north: Nívitza, Lúkovo, Pikérnes, Sopotó, Kieperó, Khimára, Vunó, Dhrymádhes, Palása, and Dukádhes. All these places stand on the western slope of the *Acroceraunia*, except Dukádhes, which looks to the Gulf of *Aulon*. There are also a few smaller villages in Khimára, one of which, named Píliuri, is in sight from the town of Khimára to the eastward, towards the summit of the mountain, in a pass leading to the Turkish village of Kutzi. At Corfú I met a certain Count Gika [1], of Dhrymádhes, who described that place as very picturesque, with a river running through it; and added, that near Dukádhes are forests of fine oaks and pines, furnishing timber which might easily be brought down the hills into the lagoon of Erikhó. All the towns have nearly the same semi-barbarous manners and customs. The Greek language is spoken by almost all the men, and the Italian by those who have lived abroad; but the women in general know little of any language but the Albanian.

Khimára being situated on a steep rocky height, protected on either side by the ravine of a torrent, and having all its exterior houses prepared for defence, has by its strength hitherto served as a

[1] Γκίκας.

barrier to all the northern part of the district against the arms of Alý Pashá. Three or four years ago, the Khimariotes fought with his troops on the hill above Palérimo. More recently, on visiting the latter place, he proposed to purchase a piece of land from the Khimariotes, for the purpose of building a castle, which they wisely refused. He has often recommended this harbour to the use of British ships; his principal object in which, as he confessed to me, is that by this appearance of support from us, he may find it more easy to bring the Khimariotes under his yoke. It was in a manner somewhat similar that he obtained Nívitza and Aio Vasíli; and thus it is that he always endeavours, in his transactions with the powers of Europe, to convert them into instruments of his own aggrandizement. From Khimára to Tepeléni is reckoned a four days' journey in this season, though the direct distance is not more than 20 G. miles: the first day is to Kutzi, the third to Nívitza on the Sútzista, which, like the other streams of this country, is difficult to pass in seasons of rain. Nívitza is inhabited by Musulman Liape, and is described as situated on a peaked rock, surrounded by deep ravines and torrents, where considerable remains of ancient walls are preserved, and in the castle particularly an entire door. It is agreed by all who have seen these walls, that they exactly resemble some pieces of Hellenic work, which now serve as foundations to several of the modern houses of Khimára. The masonry approaches to a regular kind not any of the blocks of stone having more

than five sides. These relics, together with the name, leave no question that Khimára stands upon the exact site of the ancient Chimæra, which I believe is noticed only by Pliny. I was informed of an inscription in a private house, but as it belonged to one of the adverse faction, I could not obtain permission to see it.

Jan. 12.—As neither the season, nor the engagements of the boat in which I came to Palérimo, nor the doubtful politics and civilization of the *Ceraunians*, will admit of my exploring Khimára any farther, still less of being able by this route to examine the topography of Amantia, Oricum, Bullis, or Apollonia, I am under the necessity of returning to Palérimo and Corfú. The people of Dukádhes, who possess the valley above *Oricum*, are the principal difficulty, having a reputation something like that of the Kakovuliotes of Mani.

Though the wind is favorable this morning for returning by sea to the Forty Saints, and the weather delightful, Captain Zakharías, pushing the laws of hospitality to a semi-barbarous extent, will not allow me to walk back to Palérimo, until a lamb, which he sends for from the hills, has been baked and served up on the floor.

After this Homeric breakfast we descend to Palérimo, accompanied for two miles by Captain Constantine Andrútzi : two guards, formerly Neapolitan soldiers, armed with musquets, walk with us as far as the boundary of the territory, between the northern Bay of Palérimo and the isthmus of

the castle. Here, having received a present, they fire off their musquets and return. We embark at 2 P.M. with a light northerly breeze, which soon falls to a calm; and, rowing all the way, arrive at half-past nine at the Forty Saints by a fine moonlight.

In all this part of Albania it is a prevailing idea, not uncommon also in many parts of Greece, that the country formerly belonged to the Spaniards, and that all the ruins are the work of that people; those at the Forty Saints, the castle of Délvino, the ruins in the plain of Derópugl, the remains of an old Turkish castle at Tepeléni, and even the Hellenic walls of Phœnice are supposed to be of Spanish construction. It is difficult to understand how this opinion originated, for the Catalans, the only Spaniards who made any permanent settlements in Greece, were not in this quarter, nor can any one of the ruins in Epirus with any probability be ascribed to them.

I had made an agreement with the Corfiotes to proceed to Vutzindró, and Parga, and from thence to Corfú, but this being the Greek new year's day, and feast of St. Basil, the sailors get drunk and insolent, and the bargain breaks off.

Jan. 14.—Having found another vessel, we sail along the coast to the Bay of *Buthrotum*, passing between the two rocks off Kassópo, which are such a dangerous impediment to the safe navigation of this channel. They lie midway between the castle of Kassópo and a wide bay on the shore of *Epirus*, which is separated only from the lake of Vutzindró by a long ridge of land, not broader in some

parts than a mile. The bay is called Examíli, in allusion to the isthmus, that name being often attached by the modern Greeks to an isthmus, whatever may be its breadth. It is thus applied to the Isthmus of Corinth, and to that of the *Thracian Chersonese*, near *Cardia*. The Bay of Examíli is open and exposed to the west, but the southern part is well sheltered by four islets, which have given to the anchorage within them the name of Tetránisa. Beyond this there is a rugged coast, parallel to the eastern extremity of Corfú, and forming with it the narrowest part of the channel. The most projecting point on the continent is probably the Cape Posidium of Ptolemy and Strabo[1]. Between Onchesmus and Posidium, Ptolemy places a Cassiope, which he clearly distinguishes from the Cassiope of Corcyra, by describing the former as a harbour, the latter as a town and promontory[3]. Cassiope of Epirus, therefore, if Ptolemy is correct, would

[1] Πάνορμος λιμήν, Ὄγχησμος λιμήν, Κασσιόπη λιμήν, Ποσίδιον ἄκρον, Βουθρωτὸν κόλπος, Πηλώδης λιμήν.—Ptolem. l. 3. c. 14.

Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐστὶ τῷ διαστήματι Πάνορμός τε λιμὴν μέγας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ὄρεσι· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὄγχησμος λιμὴν ἄλλος, καθ' ὃν τὰ δυσμικὰ ἄκρα τῆς Κορκυραίας ἀντίκειται· καὶ πάλιν ἄλλος Κασσιόπη, ἀφ' οὗ ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον χίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι στάδιοι· οἱ δ' ἴσοι καὶ ἐπὶ Τάραντα ἀπὸ ἄλλου ἀκρωτηρίου νοτιωτέρου τῆς Κασσιόπης ὃ καλοῦσι Φάλακρον. Μετὰ δὲ Ὄγχησμον Ποσίδιον καὶ Βουθρωτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι Πηλώδους λιμένος.—Strabo, p. 324.

[3] Κασσιόπη πόλις καὶ ἄκρα. —Ptolem. ibid. For the Cassiope of Corcyra and its temple of Jupiter Casius, see Plin. l. 4, c. 12. Sueton. in Neron. c. 22. Procop. de B. Goth. l. 4, c. 22. and some of the coins of Corcyra.

seem to have stood in the harbour of Tetránisa. It is on the strength of this evidence of Ptolemy, that Strabo has been supposed to allude to a Cassiope on the coast of Epirus, in stating that the distance from port Cassiope to Brundusium was 1700 stades. I have little doubt, however, that he intended the harbour of Cassiope in Corcyra, from whence it is more probable that vessels should begin their passage to Italy, than from any port on the Epirote coast to the southward of Onchesmus. If Strabo did not intend a place in Corcyra, why should he have described Phalacrum, (which we know from Ptolemy and Stephanus to have been a promontory of that island), as lying to the southward of Cassiope; or why should he have returned to Onchesmus before he described the ports of Posidium and Buthrotum? This seems clearly to show that all which occurs between his first mention of Onchesmus, and his return to it, relates to Corcyra only; that his Cassiope was the modern Kassópo, and his Phalacrum the north-western point of Corfú. It is true that this cape is nearly due west of Kassópo, instead of being to the south; but errors of bearing are among the most common of ancient inaccuracies. Strabo's distance of 1700 stades cannot assist in deciding the question, because the difference of distance from Brindisi to Kassópo in Corfú, or from Brindisi to any point on the Epirote coast, is too small on so long a line to lead to any certainty, especially in reference to so incorrect an authority or text as those of Strabo.

His imperfect knowledge of the general form of these coasts is shown, not only by his mistaken bearing of Phalacrum from Cassiope, but by his statement also that the distance from Phalacrum to Tarentum is equal to that from Cassiope to Brundusium, there being a great excess in the former line whether the latter be measured from the coast of Corcyra, or from that of Epirus. As to the mention supposed to have been made by other authors beside Ptolemy, of a Cassiope in Epirus, it is clear that they all, without exception, intended the Cassope, of which the territory bordered on the Ambracic Gulf [1].

If Phalacrum was the north-western cape of Corfú, the southern extremity, or Cavo Bianco, was probably the Amphipagus of Ptolemy [2]; for although the words Leucimne and Bianco have a similar import, the modern name Aléfkimo is a much stronger proof of the identity of the ancient Leucimne with the low cape advancing into the channel of Corfú, eight miles to the northward of Cape Bianco. The name Amphipagus corresponds to such an abrupt and rocky height as Cavo Bianco, and with the more propriety, as it is a contrast to the low sandy promontory of Aléfkimo. It is observable also, that the placing of Amphipagus at Cavo Bianco agrees with the order of names in Ptolemy, which is as follows: Cassiope

[1] Scylax in Κασσωπαῖοι.—Strabo, p. 234; Stephan. in Κασσώπη.—Demosth. orat. de Halon.

[2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 14.

(Kassópo); Ptychia (Vido); Corcyra (Corfú); Leucimne (Aléfkimo); Amphipagus (Cavo Bianco); Phalacrum (Cape Drastí, or the N.W. Cape). The only remarkable promontory in *Corcyra*, which seems here omitted, is that at the southern entrance of the Channel of Kassópo.

As we approach Vutzindró, the water becomes muddy, and in the bay is almost fresh. This bay is very shallow on the northern side, and the bar at the mouth of the river will even now, when the water is at the highest, but just admit of the entrance of καΐκια, or small coasting vessels. We row three or four miles up the river, through a plain once perhaps the property of Atticus, the friend of Cicero [1], and now peopled with horses from the neighbouring villages. We then arrive at the Vivári [2], or more vulgarly Livári; that is to say, the principal fishery, which is on the left side of the river, at its exit from the lake, nearly opposite to the peninsula which was anciently occupied by Buthrotum. The only buildings at the Livári are a ruined house of Venetian construction, and near it an old triangular castle, occupied by a dirty bilibásh of the Vezír, and fifteen or twenty soldiers. The place is called Βουτζιντρὸν, vulgarly pronounced Vutjindró: the territory comprehends all the lake, and a part of the surrounding hills. In the house live the superintendent of the fishery and fourteen Greeks, who are employed by him. The fish are caught by means of a strong permanent dam, made of large beams, crowned with a palisading

[1] Cicero ad Attic. l. 4, ep. 8. [2] From *vivarium*.

of reeds. At intervals are small chambers in the dam, where the fish are taken in passing out of the lake. A man who is on the watch, gives a signal for shutting the door as soon as the chamber is full. There is a second dam above the first, for the purpose of breaking the force of the water, but the late violent rains have carried away great part of it, and injured the fishery for the remainder of the season, which usually lasts from September to March. The yearly average quantity of fish caught is 350,000 litres, or Greek pounds, which are the same as the Venetian. This year, though the season is only half over, they have caught 400,000. The fishery is farmed from the Vezír for fifty-five purses by N. Y. of Kalarýtes, the bishop of Ioánnina, and G. Z. of the Forty Saints. In the same farm is included the fishery of a smaller lake named Riza, to the south-eastward of the great lake; that of a lagoon called Armyró on the northern side of the mouth of the river, the pasturage of the marshy land near the river and lake, and the privilege of cutting wood (but not construction timber) in the forests and marshes of the territory of Vutzindró, as it was defined by treaty between Venice and the Turks. Beyond that line the wood-cutters pay for the privilege to Konízpoli, which possesses all the south-eastern part of the fine plain, extending from the southern extremity of the lake to the foot of the hills which border the Channel of Corfú in face of the city.

The right of fishing with nets in the lakes, lagoons, and river, is underlet by the farmers to Corfiotes, who employ many boats in this manner.

The fish are salted on the spot, and the greater part sent to Corfú, which depends upon Vutzindró and the Gulf of Arta for its supply of fish during the long fasts of the Greek church; the rest are sold in the villages around for a great distance. From hence also Corfú is chiefly furnished with firewood, and with staves to make casks for its oil and wine. These circumstances explain the importance which Venice always attached to the possession of Bucintro. The wood is chiefly procured on a mountain rising steeply from the eastern side of the lake and plain, and called Miliá-vuni, from a little village near the summit, which is in sight from Corfú. The French are said to have formerly procured from thence some good timber for shipbuilding. Under its south-eastern extremity, between it and another mountain, is the lake Riza, which is three or four miles long, and sends forth a stream which enters the lake of Vutzindró, nearly opposite to the ruins of *Buthrotum*. Along the eastern side of the lake Riza passes the direct road from Délvino to Mursiá, a village at the southern extremity of the plain, from whence it continues to Konispoli and Filiátes. The road from the Livári to Délvino follows the western side of the same lake, and joins the former road at the upper or northern extremity of the lake, near a source of salt water. On some low eminences rising from the southern bank of the lake Riza are the villages Zara and Zarópulo, which are comprehended in the district of Vutzindró. The fishery of this lake, as I before remarked, forms a part of the farm of the great livári, but is subject

to the payment of one hundred and eighty okes of fish to Selím Bey Koka, who owns the neighbouring land.

Konispoli is a scattered town of four or five hundred Albanian families, conspicuous from Corfú by its situation on the summit of the maritime ridge, which stretches from the plain at the mouth of the Kalamá, as far as the bay of Vutzindró. Inland the plain extends southward from Vutzindró behind this ridge, for a distance of about five miles, and a river flows through it into the lake. The southern part of the plain belonged to a Hellenic city, of which remains are found on the edge of the plain, to the northward of Konispoli; the other end was obviously a part of the territory of Buthrotum.

About twenty days ago there was a battle at Konispoli, between the two parties which divide the town; at the head of one is Mahmúd Daliáni, whose niece was married to Mukhtár Pashá some time ago, but divorced by him and then married to Selím Bey, of Délvino, who now resides at Konispoli. The other chief is Ismaíl Agá, a friend of the Vezír, whose assistance he demanded; but before it could arrive Ismaíl had made up matters with his adversary. The Vezír's party at Konispoli and Filiátes are called Jacobins[1] by their opponents, in imitation of the party appellations of the Corfiotes. Alý was displeased with Ismaíl for not allowing time for his interference; but still hopes, by his means, to obtain possession

[1] Ἰακοβῖνοι.

of Konispoli, which would be a great step towards his object of subjugating the whole of Tzamuriá.

Wild swine are very numerous among the thickets along the edge of the lake, particularly in the peninsula of *Buthrotum;* and the place is infested with jackalls, which at night make as hideous a noise as those in the plains of Palestine. Woodcocks are very numerous, and the lake is now covered with ducks.

A Greek of Ioánnina, who is employed at the Livári, had established, at the expence of six hundred piastres, a small shop and wine-store, which was totally carried away by the late inundations. Of the two years he has dwelt here, he has been ill the greater part of the last. In summer the air is extremely unhealthy; and there is no drinking water, but that of the river, which in winter is extremely turbid.

As one of the states of Epirus, Buthrotum has not received any more notice from history than the cities of this province in general. It was occupied by Cæsar soon after he had taken Oricum[1], and before the time of Strabo had become a Roman colony[2]. Virgil had a most imperfect idea of the place, when he applied to it the epithet of lofty; and its resemblance to Troy is very like that of Monmouth to Macedon. It would be difficult even to find the dry torrent to which the followers

[1] Cæsar de B. C. l. 3, c. 16. [2] Strabo, p. 324.

of Helenus had given the name of Xanthus[1]. The words which the Latin poet applies to the Phæacian citadel are better chosen, and exactly describe the two rocky summits or *κορυφαὶ*, which have given its modern name to Corcyra[2].

Strabo was so far acquainted with the site of Buthrotum, as to know that it stood on a chersonese; but in placing it at the mouth of the harbour Pelodes, he was either greatly misinformed, or the word *λιμένος* has been improperly substituted in his text for *λίμνης*[3], and the name Pelodes belonged to the lake as well as the harbour; for Ptolemy, Plutarch[4], and the word itself, sufficiently identify Pelodes with the muddy bay of Vutzindró. Ptolemy, indeed, distinguishes between the *Βουθρωτοῦ κόλπος* and the *Πηλώδης λιμήν*; placing the former next to Cape Posidium: pos-

[1] Protinus aerias Phæacum abscondimus arces
Litoraque Epiri legimus, portuque subimus
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti ascendimus urbem.
. . . . . .
Ante urbem in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam
Libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum . . . . . .
Procedo et parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis
Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
Agnosco, Scææque amplector limina portæ.
Virgil. Æn. l. 3, v. 291, 302, 348.

[2] *στοὺς Κορφούς.*

[3] *Μετὰ δὲ Ὄγχησμον, Ποσείδιον καὶ Βουθρωτόν, ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ καλουμένου Πηλώδους λιμένος, ἱδρυμένον ἐν τόπῳ χερρονησίζοντι, ἐποίκους ἔχων Ῥωμαίους.*—Strabo, p. 324.

[4] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 14.—Plutarch. de defect. Orac.

sibly port Pelodes was the modern Armyró, which may have been converted in process of time by the deposit of the river, from a well-sheltered harbour into a lagoon on the northern side of the river's mouth. The ruins of Buthrotum occupy a peninsula which is bounded on the western side by a small bay in the lake, and is surrounded from the north to the south-east by the windings of the river just above its issue. The walls of the Roman colony still exist in the whole circumference, which is about a mile, and are mixed with remains both of later and of Hellenic work, showing that the city always occupied the same site. Within the inclosure are the ruins of a large church, of two or three small ones, and of some cisterns, baths, and houses. There are also some fragments of granite columns and of other marbles. The towers which flank the walls were built with a salient angle, and some of them were of this form.

The citadel was towards the bay of the lake, where the side of the peninsula is the highest and steepest. Of the Hellenic remains there is a very perfect piece of wall on the south-eastern side, which, as it consists of regular courses, is probably not much older than the time of Pyrrhus. There is also a fine remnant on the western side, of which the courses are nearly equal and parallel, and appear entirely so at a distance; but on a nearer inspection, few of the stones are found to be quadrangular, nor the courses regular. Immediately opposite to the house of the fishery

are some other ruins which appear to be Venetian; among them is a tower resembling those on the coast of Malta. There is a similar one in the pass behind the Liméni of the Forty Saints.

Jan. 15.—A rocky summit on the western side of the ruins commands a fine view of the Epirote coast, from the cape near Palása to the islands of Sývota, as well as of all the eastern side of Corfú. The plain of Délvino is seen beyond the lake, together with the surrounding mountains. On the narrow ridge which separates the lake from the bay of Examíli, stands the monastery of St. George, surrounded with gardens, olive-grounds, and vineyards; it is now occupied by Alý as a military post. A little beyond the southern point of the bay of Vutzindró is a small port called Glyfa, a little within Cape Stilo: then occurs the harbour of Fteliá, or Afteliá, which is well sheltered, and though small is a good anchorage for ships of commerce; then Kataitó, a little open port, then Baganiá, a good harbour for merchant ships. Beyond Baganiá, the villages, Konízpoli, Liópesi, and Saiádha[1], crown the hills which border the coast. Under Saiádha is a sandy shallow bay, exposed to the north-west, in which is a skala called Kerasiá, which is the ordinary landing-place from Corfú on the way to Filiátes and Ioánnina, and from whence the island is usually supplied with cattle, sheep, hogs, and other provision.

[1] Κορίσπολις, Λόπεσι, Σαγιάδα.

At the mouth of the river Kalamá, the ancient Thyamis, there is an island or peninsula affording good shelter, immediately beyond which is the bay of Gomenítza, a fine harbour for ships of any size and number; the entrance is narrowed by the shoals formed by the Kalamá, which extend from Kerasiá all the way round to the bay of Gomenítza. Close to the mouth of the river, on the north, is the insulated mountain called Mavronóro, which seems once to have been an island, as all around it are low sandy points. It seems to be the projection which Ptolemy entitules the promontory or promontories of Thyamis[1]; the low promontories around it would justify the plural number. Five or six miles to the southward of Gomenítza are the islands Sybota, which still bear the ancient name[2]. They shelter a small bay, where on the shore of the main land stands a village of Musulman Albanians named Vrakhaná or Murto. Strabo has not noticed any place between Buthrotum and Sybota: an unfortunate omission, as there must have been anciently some important towns in the rich districts near the mouth of the Thyamis, concerning which no author has left us any precise information. *Torone* would seem from Ptolemy to have stood in one of the bays between the mouth of the Kalamá and Sývota.

The country which lies to the southward of the

[1] Πηλώδης λιμὴν, Θυάμεως ἄκρα, Θυάμιος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαὶ, Τορώνη, Σύβοτα λιμήν.—Ptolemy, l. 3, c. 14.

[2] Τὰ Σύβοτα.

districts of Vutzindró and Délvino, as far as the Kalamá, is called Parakálamo. Φιλάτες, pronounced Filiátes by the Albanians, is the principal town of Parakálamo. With the exception of a few Christian artisans and shopkeepers, it is entirely inhabited by Musulman Albanians, contains several handsome mosques, and about 2000 houses, which, as in the generality of Albanian towns, are dispersed over a great space; the ground is hilly, and the place is situated at a distance of some miles from the plain of the Kalamá. Ibrahím Demis and Ibrahím Stambúlis are the two principal chieftains, and can bring two or three thousand armed Musulmans into the field.

Plessarítza is a large Greek village on a rocky hill to the northward of Filiátes, and situated above the western side of a valley which forms the natural communication between the vale of the Kalamá and that of Délvino. Beyond Plessarítza, towards Délvino, are Kótzika and Verva, in the narrowest part of the valley abovementioned: this pass, and that of Neokhóri, in the mountains which separate the valley of the lower Kalamá from the districts of Paramythía and Margaríti, are the only two entrances into that valley on the land side, except the difficult route which leads into it along the river from the north-eastward. Hence Parakálamo, Daghi, to the south of the Kalamá, Magaríti, and Paramythía, have hitherto remained independent of Alý Pashá.

Jan. 16.—Return this morning to Corfú, in a boat of that island with a gentle scirocco. At two

thirds of the distance down the river stands a house built by a Corfiote, who owns also part of the plain; but his speculation having failed, the house is now in ruins. Alý Pashá having already made so much progress in gaining possession of the Ex-Venetian places, is desirous of purchasing this property from the Corfiote.

CHAPTER III.

SECOND JOURNEY.

ÆTOLIA.

Landing at Varássova — Galatá — River *Evenus* — Bokhóri — *Calydon, Chalcis, Taphiassus, Macynia*—Mesolónghi—*Pleuron, Proschium, Pylene*—Khierásovo—Mount Zygós, *Aracynthus*—Ston-gambo—Vrakhóri—Chorography of Karlilí—Kúvelo — Vlokhó — *Thermus* — Mount *Pancetolicum* — River Ermítza — Zapándi — River Aspro, *Achelous* — *Stratus* —Lepenú—*Capture of Thermus by Philip son of Demetrius—Metapa, Conope, Lysimachia, Olenus*, lake *Hyria, Acræ, Trichonium, Phytæum, Agrinium, Thestia.*

June 12, 1805.—At 11 P.M. I embarked with two servants and a Tatár courier in a boat of Kefalonía from the Skala of Patra for the opposite coast; but a light breeze, blowing directly against us from the lagoon of Mesolónghi, and our boat being furnished only with two oars, it was not until the morning of June 13, at 8.30, that I landed at the ruin of a tower of Venetian, or lower Greek construction, at the foot of Mount Varássova, as that immense pile of rock is here called which closes the plain of the *Evenus* to the

eastward, but which is more commonly known at Patra by the name of Mount Galatá, from a village of that name. The other steep mountain or promontory towards 'Epakto, which at Patra is generally called Paleo-vúni, is here better known by the name of Kakí-skala. The landing-place of Varássova is in an angle, where the level coast at the mouth of the *Evenus* terminates, under the cliffs of the mountain, which rise almost perpendicularly to the summit. Several copious streams of the purest water issue from the foot of the mountain, and form a pond and marsh near the beach, from which a stream flows into the sea. Most of these fountains are within fifty yards of the beach; and there is one which rises in the sea itself ten or twelve feet from the shore, forcing its way to the surface, and making the water all around it fresh. From these sources the place receives the name of Krio-neró.

Some return mules, which have brought hither plank from the interior mountains to be transported to Zákytho, afford the means of forwarding my baggage to Galatá. At noon I leave the sea-beach on foot, but soon meet some horses, sent from the village by order of Osmán Bey, a Turk of 'Epakto, who owns Galatá. The plain is very marshy near the sea, but farther inland is fertile; and near Galatá and Bokhóri produces maize, corn, oil, wine, silk, and rice. Of the latter grain a great quantity might be grown, as there are large uncultivated tracts in the plain well adapted to it. Two or three miles to the northward of

Galatá and Bokhóri, the valley of the *Evenus*, now called Fídhari, branches from the maritime plain. It is inclosed by hills clothed with oaks, and has a rich and beautiful appearance.

Galatá is a Turkish village of thirty houses, distant $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north, 60 west, from Krio-neró; it is situated in the midst of olive plantations and cornfields, and though surrounded also by rice marshes, is said to be not unhealthy. The peasants are now employed in reaping barley. The Turk who brought the horses conducts me to his cottage, provides a dinner, and accompanies me in the afternoon to Mesolónghi. We are prevented from setting out till 4.53, by a heavy rain, accompanied with thunder, an occurrence almost daily in the mountainous parts of Greece in the early summer. The clouds begin to collect on the mountains about 9 o'clock, and the storm is generally over by 3 or 4 P.M., but sometimes it is later. Though it happened every day during the fortnight I remained at Patra, the rain never reached that place. While travelling in the Moréa, I remarked that these meridian storms were more constant in the mountains of Rumilí than in the Peninsula. At 5.15 we cross the Fídhari about the same place where the centaur Nessus, of old, transported passengers across the river in his arms, and where he suffered from the arrows of Hercules for his rudeness to Deianira, for hereabouts is naturally the most convenient passage. Nessus would seem to have been no more than a mortal horseman, who gained a few pence

by his employment[1]. The river well illustrates the story, as it requires a guide for the ford even in this season, the water reaching to the stirrups. The water is clear and rapid, running over a wide gravelly bed, which in winter is often entirely covered. The river separates the district of Ἔpakto from that of Zygós.

Having reached the right bank, we pass through Bokhóri[1], a Greek village situated amidst plane-trees, cornfields, fruit-gardens, and plantations of the same productions which grow near Galatá. Derivations from the *Evenus* here turn several mills. At the hamlet of Kurt-agá, near the point where the last slope of the mountain on the north-western side of the vale of the *Evenus* advances into the plain of Bokhóri, are foundations of the walls of a large Hellenic polis, not far from the right bank of the river. The position corresponds so exactly to that of Calydon, as indicated by Pliny[2], that one can hardly doubt of the identity. Without this testimony, there might have been some doubts on the question. Strabo, by his citation of two conflicting authorities, without deciding between them, clearly shows that he never was here; but though his text, as it now stands, is unintelligible, it requires only the transposition of two of the para-

[1] Ὃς τὸν βαθύῤῥονν ποταμὸν Εὔηνον βροτοὺς
Μισθοῦ ἐπόρευε χερσίν.—Sophocl. Trachin. v. 559. Apollod. l. 2. c. 7. Pausan. Phocic. c. 38.

[2] Calydon est septem millibus quingentis passibus a mari juxta Evenum amnem.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

graphs[1], and the addition of the single word οὐκ[2], to be made perfectly applicable. The passage occurs in a description of the maritime places in their proper order from Leucas to Antirrhium. With the proposed alteration his remarks will be as follows: "Next to the lake Cynia, which has a communication with the sea, is Pleuron, then the town Licyrna, above which, thirty stades inland is Calydon, and near it the temple of Apollo Laphræus; then the Evenus, to which, from Actium, there is a distance of 670 stades, and beyond it the mountain Chalcis, which Artemidorus calls Chalcia; then the mountain Taphiassus; then the city Macynia; then Molycreia, and near it Antirrhium, the boundary of Ætolia and Locris, to which, from the Evenus, there is a distance of 120 stades. Artemidorus, however, differs respecting the mountain Chalcis, or Chalcia, placing it between the Achelous and Pleuron. Apollodorus, on the other hand, places both Chalcis and Taphiassus, as I before stated, above Molycreia, and Calydon between Pleuron and Chalcis, unless, indeed, we

[1] The text now stands as follows. The figures 1 2, describe the proposed order.

2. Εἶθ' ὁ Εὔηνος, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκτίου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὔηνον τὸ ὄρος ἡ Χαλκὶς ἣν Χαλκίαν εἴρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος. 1. Εἶθ' ἡ Πλευρὼν, εἶθ' ἡ Λίκυρνα κώμη ἧς ὑπέρκειται Καλυδὼν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ σταδίοις τριάκοντα· περὶ δὲ τὴν Καλυδῶνα ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Λαφραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. —Strabo, p. 459.

[2] Ἀρτεμίδωρος μὲν (οὐχ) οὕτω περὶ τῆς εἴτε Χαλκίδος, &c. p. 450.—M. Coray has already proposed this addition: see Géographie de Strabon, tome iv. p. 64.

suppose that Mount Chalcia near Pleuron was different from Chalcis near Molycreia."

As it cannot be doubted that the Chalcis and Taphiassus here named were the two great mountains situated between the river Fídhari and the Castle of Rumilí, or ancient *Antirrhium*, it follows that Chalcis was Varássova, or the western mountain, and Taphiassus the eastern, now called Kakí-skala. And as there is no appearance of an ancient site between the river and Mount Varássova, we may infer that Chalcis or Hypochalcis[1], the Χαλκὶς ἀγχίαλος of Homer[2], and the Chalceia of Polybius[3], stood in the valley between the two mountains, where is now a harbour called Gavrolímni. It would seem also, that the site of Macynia was between Taphiassus and Molycreia, which last, as I have already remarked[4], was on the first rise of the hills behind the castle of Rumilí. I was informed at Patra, from whence the whole of this coast is well seen, that there are still some remains of a Hellenic fortress, now called Ovrió-kastro, between the mountains, and some vestiges also on the eastern side of Kakí-skala both of them confirming the preceding conjecture, the former being the remains of Chalcis, the latter of Macynia. Ptolemy places Molycreia in Locris[5], but Strabo makes Antirrhium the boundary, and ascribes Molycreia to Ætolia.

The modern name Μποχώρι is obviously a cor-

[1] Strabo, p. 451, Stephan. in Χαλκὶς, Ὑποχαλκίς.

[2] Il. B. v. 639.

[3] Polyb. l. 5, c. 94.

[4] Travels in the Morea, vol. 2. p. 150.

[5] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 15.

ruption of Ὑποχώριον in allusion to its position, that is to say, an outlying quarter of Calydon below the city. In some vineyards near Kurtagá a sepulchral stele has lately been found and brought to Bokhóri. It has that common form which is an imitation of the end of a sarcophagus, and is inscribed with the names 'Philumena, Antimachus[1],' where the precedence of the lady's name without anything to indicate the relationship between the two is uncommon.

The evening is unfortunately too near its close to allow me to examine the ruins of Calydon. Proceeding therefore from Bokhóri we pass through fields of oats, barley, griniá[2], guinea corn, and

[1] See Inscription No. I. at the end of this volume.

[2] Γηρηνιὰς, or Γρηνιὰς, is wheat of a middle hardness, and generally with a black beard and fine full grain; in the Moréa it is chiefly produced on the banks of the *Alpheius*. The other species cultivated in Greece are, 2. Βλαχό-σταρι, brought from Trieste many years ago, in a time of scarcity, and planted in the Moréa. It is a soft corn, and being a native of a colder climate, is grown chiefly on the high lands. 3. Σιδινίτζα, a small yellow grain and hardish. It grows principally in the lower parts of *Achaia*, eastward of Patra. 4. Ατζαλό-σταρι, very hard; grows in Bœotia. The following is a rough calculation by our consul at Patra of the produce of wheat in an average year, in the principal corn districts of the southern part of Greece.

Κοιλὰ Πολιτικὰ, or Kilá of Constantinople, reckoned to contain an average of 22 okes of $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb.

Thebes	150,000
Livadhía	200,000
Sálona	50,000
Corinth and Achaia	100,000
Arkadhía	50,000
Pyrgo and Gastúni	150,000
Great part of the latter is from the champaign country on the banks of the *Alpheius* as far up as Londári.	
Total	700,000

Kilá of Constantinople.

maize, and at 6.20 leave on the left a village which has recently been built in the level near the sea, on the edge of the eastern extremity of the Lagoon of Mesolónghi, and hence called Neokhóri. The mountains on the right are well cultivated at the foot, and above are covered with trees. Having descended upon the lowest level at something more than a mile from the edge of the lagoon, we proceed over a desert space inundated by the late rains; at 7.10 enter a suburb of Mesolónghi consisting of thatched huts, and at 7.25 arrive at the house of a merchant on the seaside.

Mesolónghi[1] was evidently so named from its situation in the midst of the λόγγος, or wilderness of woods and marshes, which, under the Romans, gradually enveloped all the ruined cities of maritime Ætolia, until the position, like that of Venice, was chosen for its security during the middle ages, to which period of Greek literature the name belongs. The town contains about 1000 families, residing in houses which indicate a great variety of conditions, and occupy a large space, as well along the shore of the lagoon as in the adjacent marshy level. The lagoon is separated from the sea by a narrow ῥάμμα, as it is called, or thread of low land, and is divided into two nearly equal parts by a projection from the marshy level, which advances to within a short distance of the ramma. In the eastern division of the lagoon, and in the middle of a bay at its northern extremity, is the town of Anatolikó, entirely covering a small

[1] Μεσολόγγιον.

island. The entrance from the roadsted of Mesolónghi into the lagoon is at a distance of four miles from the town, where is a small island called Vasiládhi, and upon it a fort and custom-house. Large boats cannot approach within a mile of the houses, nor can they advance so far unless when empty: all the remaining navigation of the lagoon, therefore, is carried on by shallow monóxyla, or canoes, which are made of hollow trunks of oaks from the neighbouring mountains. In the town, salt water rises every where on digging to the depth of three or four feet; but so near as the gardens which surround the town, wells of a greater depth furnish an abundance of fresh water which maintains the gardens in perpetual verdure. The water for drinking is brought by an aqueduct from Mount Zygós between the foot of which and the gardens there is a plain covered with currant plantations, vineyards, and fields of corn, but which do not supply the place with more than a four months' consumption of bread.

I was surprised to hear that the air of Mesolónghi is not considered unhealthy, and to observe that the appearance of the people, who are a handsome race, corresponds to this opinion. It is admitted, however, that the back part of the town is not so healthy as the seaside, where the best houses are situated. The fishery of the lagoon, and the commerce of this the only emporium in Ætolia, are the productive labors of the Mesolonghites. The fish are taken in a variety of modes, but in the greatest numbers by means of a palisading near the stómata or mouths of the lagoon,

of which there are several communicating with the sea. Here, after breeding in the shallows, they are intercepted on their return to the sea, in passages or in chambers into which the passages conduct. Each kind of fish has a different season during the summer and autumn for going out. Besides the quantity consumed in the town, or in the villages around, either fresh, half salted, or thoroughly salted, 200,000 litres are exported every year. The other exports of Mesolónghi are 5000 barrels of oil every two years, 1500 barrels of wine, 300,000 litres of currants, 1000 okes of silk, and all the surplus corn of the southern parts of Karlilí. The merchant, in whose house I am lodged, carried last year a cargo of maize to Tunis. The currants, shipped here, are partly produced in the plain of Vrakhóri, and as they form part of the cargoes of the British ships trading to Patra, a consul or agent has been appointed at Mesolónghi, who is the son of a Kefalonite merchant residing here, and who acts also for the Septinsular Republic.

June 14.—A ride of a little more than one hour from Mesolónghi conducts me to some ruins in a lofty situation on Mount Zygós, just as the usual post-meridian storm of rain and thunder is coming on. Fortunately it lasts only half an hour. The remains which are now known by the name of τὸ Κάστρον τῆς Κυρίας Εἰρήνης, or the Castle of Lady Irene, are those of the entire circuit of the ruined walls of a small polis, about a mile in circumference, enclosing the western face of a very steep and rugged height, the summit of which formed an acropolis.

The masonry is generally of the third order. The lower courses of the principal gate exist, on one side of which is a stone measuring seven feet by four. It seems to have been a common practice among the Greeks to place the largest masses near the principal entrance, to excite respect in a stranger for the fortifications. In the centre of the wall, which defended the lower side of the town, is a square tower, and at one extremity of the same wall another tower, having very long flanks. The most remarkable remains within the enclosure are a theatre about 100 feet in diameter, and above it, on the side of the hill, a cistern, 100 feet long, 70 broad, and 14 deep, excavated on three sides in the rock, and on the fourth constructed of masonry. The excavation is on a slope, and between the excavated side at the upper end, and a wall which closes the lower, there are four other parallel, though not equidistant walls reaching from the one side of the excavation to the other, and consisting of courses of regular masonry, of a single stone in thickness, and which have openings at the bottom in the form of a triangle, very acute at the upper angle. The intention of these walls and openings in such an excavation it is not very easy to explain. Close to a small side-gate on the north are the foundations of a building, and to the eastward the remains of two parallel walls, enclosing a terrace twenty-four yards long and eleven wide; near the great gate are those of a small quadrangular building, like the cell of a temple, the stones square and accurately cut, but without any appearance of a peristyle or any fragments of

columns. In the Acropolis are some remains of Doric shafts of white marble, about three feet in diameter; they belonged, perhaps, to the identical temple of Minerva at Pleuron, noticed by Dicæarchus [1], for I have little doubt that these are the ruins of *Pleuron*. Strabo remarks, that the more ancient Pleuron was destroyed by Demetrius II. son of Antigonus Gonatas [2]; that it stood in the plain towards Calydon, and that the Pleuronii afterwards built a new town on Mount Aracynthus. From his description also of the Evenus, though he was mistaken in supposing the course of that river above Calydon to have been easterly, it is evident that the territory of Pleuron bordered upon the Calydonia [3]. Dicæarchus, in naming Pleuron between the Achelous and Calydon, agrees with

[1] . . . . . ποταμὸν δ' ἡ χώρα ἔχει
Ἀχελῶον . . . . . .
. . . . . ἔχεται δ' Αἰτωλία,
Ἐν ᾗ πόλις ὑπόκειται Πλευρὼν καὶ ἱερὸν
Ἄγιον Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ὠνομασμένον.
Ἔπειτα Καλυδὼν, ...—Dicæarch. v. 55.

[2] About the year 235, B.C. It appears from Strabo, that this Demetrius was commonly known by the surname of Ætolicus, to distinguish him from the Poliorcetes: both the Demetrii having been sons of Antigoni.

[3] Ἔχει . . . . ἡ Αἰτωλία . . . . . τὸν Ἀράκυνθον, περὶ ὃν τὴν νεωτέραν Πλευρῶνα συνῴκισαν, ἀφέντες τὴν παλαιὰν ἐγγὺς κειμένην Καλυδῶνος οἱ οἰκήτορες, εὔκαρπον οὖσαν καὶ πεδιάδα, πορθοῦντος τὴν χώραν Δημήτριου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Αἰτωλικοῦ . . . . . Ὁ δὲ Εὔηνος . . . . . ῥεῖ οὐ διὰ τῆς Κουρητικῆς κατ' ἀρχὰς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Πλευρωνίᾳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον παρὰ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ Καλυδῶνα· εἶτα ἀνακάμψας ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Πλευρῶνος πεδία τῆς παλαιᾶς, καὶ παραλλάξας εἰς δύσιν, ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὰς ἐκβολὰς καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν.—Strabo, p. 451.

Apollodorus, who places Calydon between Pleuron and Chalcis[1]. If the situations therefore which I have assigned to *Calydon* and *Chalcis* be correct, there can be no question that *Pleuron* was near Mesolónghi. In farther admitting the transposition which I have proposed in the text of Strabo, we may add to the preceding testimonies that of Artemidorus. Nor is the concurrence of Thucydides wanting, who, in describing the march of Eurylochus the Spartan from Locris into Ætolia, in the sixth autumn of the Peloponnesian war, relates, that he moved from Molycrium to Calydon, Pleuron, and Proschium, in which places he remained until he proceeded against Amphilochia[2].

There is every reason to believe that Mount Zygós, upon a part of which the castle of Irene stands, is the ancient Aracynthus, and the ruins accord with those of the later *Pleuron*, inasmuch as they have no appearance of remote antiquity, and are exactly those of such a small town as we may suppose *New Pleuron* to have been from the circumstances of the people at the time of its foundation. I remarked, moreover, some pieces of Hellenic wall at the foot of the mountain on the edge of the plain of Mesolónghi, as well as on a small height in that plain now called Ghyftó-kastro, situated precisely where the words of Strabo would lead one to look for *Old Pleuron*. The name Ghyftó-kastro allows the conjecture, that greater remains once existed there, and that the materials have been removed for the use of modern constructions at Mesolónghi.

[1] Ap. Strabon. p. 160, v. sup. p. 110.

[2] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 102.

Proschium, from a comparison of Strabo with Thucydides, in the places just referred to, seems to have occupied the western part of the ridge of Zygós, and to have possessed the plain, at its foot, now belonging to Anatolikó. The high situation in which Proschium was founded when the low position of the Homeric Pylene was abandoned [1], seems to accord with that of the monastery of St. George in Mount Zygós, between Anatolikó and Anghelókastro, where considerable remains of a Hellenic city are said to exist. Pylene may have received its name from the remarkable cleft called the Klisúra, which extends through the whole breadth of Mount Zygós, and which was exactly such a place as the ancient Greeks called a *πύλη*, or gate. In this case it is probable that Pylene was situated at the maritime end of the Klisúra, over against Anatolikó.

Apókuro, a sub-district of the Turkish kazá of Karpenísi, to the north-eastward of Zygós, seems evidently to have derived its name from Mount Curium and the Curetes; for it comprehends nearly the same country in which Homer places that people, as well as Strabo, who says that Pleuron was situated below the mountain Curium [2], whence it seems that Curium and Ara-

[1] Αἰολεῖς . . . . τὴν Πυλήνην μετενέγκαντες εἰς τοὺς ἀνώτερον τόπους ἤλλαξαν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὔνομα, Πρόσχιον καλέσαντες.—Strabo, p. 451.

[2] Il. I. v. 525, et seq. — Κούριον δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶς Πλευρῶνος πλησίον, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Πλευρωνίους Κουρῆτας ὀνομασθῆναί τίνες ὑπέλαβον.—Strabo, p. 451. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ Κυρίου, ταῦ ὑπερκειμένου τῆς Πλευρῶνος.—p. 465. But some preferred a heroic derivation both for Curetes and Acarnanes.

cynthus were the same, or different parts of the same, mountain.

Having descended the hill of Kyría Iríni on foot, through the rocks and shrubs with which it is entirely covered, we regain, in half an hour, the direct road from Mesolónghi to Khierásovo, at a distance of three quarters of an hour from the former; and soon after having entered the mountain, and lost sight of the maritime country, leave on the right, at 5.20, a tumulus, covered with stones, situated in a little valley, along which a torrent flows; on its opposite bank is a Hellenic foundation. These are possibly the sepulchre and shrine of one of the ancient heroes of Ætolia. After ascending for an hour over a rugged road, we arrive on the side of a stream shaded by large plane-trees: follow a path still worse than before along the side of the same torrent through a forest of planes, oaks, and pirnária, as far as a hollow between two summits of Mount Zygós; and at the end of another hour reach a height which commands a view of the lakes of Vrakhóri, and of the great mountain to the north-east of that town, called Kyría Evghénia[1] (Lady Eugenia), or vulgarly Mount Viéna. Descending from hence, through a forest for three quarters of an hour, we arrive, at 8.30, at the village of Khierásovo[2], beautifully dispersed among vineyards and gardens on the slope of the mountain, in the midst of a forest of chestnuts. The gathering of the nuts and the carrying of them to Anatolikó and Meso-

[1] Κυρία Εὐγένεια. [2] Χιεράσοβυς.

lónghi, from whence most of them are transported to Zákytho or the other islands, together with the tending of their sheep and goats on the mountain, form the principal employments of the people of Khierásovo.

June 15.—A descent of fifty minutes from Khierásovo through the forest of chestnuts, conducts us, at 7.5, nearly to the base of the mountain, where a torrent shaded by planes turns some mills, and flows down a valley opening into the plain of Vrakhóri. At 7.40, just at the entrance of the plain, we pass a zevgaláti [1], or hamlet, dependent on Khierásovo, and called Ston Gambo [2], or "at the plain;" but which is sufficiently high to command a view over a great part of the extensive plains and lakes around Vrakhóri, with the opposite mountains. This prospect is alone sufficient to identify Mount Zygós with *Aracynthus;* since, according to Dionysius the geographer, Mount Aracynthus bounded to the southward the great plain of the Ætolians [3]. There are three lakes in this plain, one to the right of the river Aspro, or *Achelous*, the two others to the left of it; but the latter are separated only by a marshy and often inundated tract, full of large trees and underwood, through which is a causeway of stone, forming the only road from Vrakhóri to Anatolikó, Mesolónghi, Bokhóri, and the adjacent coast, whether by Khie-

[1] *ζευγαλάτι, ζευγαλατία, ζευγαλατιά.*

[2] *στὸν κάμπον.*

[3] Τῆς δ' ὑπὲρ ἐς νότον εἶσιν ὑπὸ σκοπιὴν Ἀρακύνθου
Ἀνδρῶν Αἰτωλῶν πεδίον μέγα.
Dionys. Perieg. v. 431.

rásovo or by Klisúra. The latter route, after having crossed the causeway, turns to the right of the former, and passes by Papadhátes, which stands on an extremity of Mount Zygós, not far from the borders of the middle lake; it then enters the pass of Klisúra, which natural opening, by avoiding the ascent and descent of the mountain, is often preferred as the road from Vrakhóri to Mesolónghi, although circuitous. Above Papadhátes are considerable remains of a Hellenic city, probably Lysimachia. Leaving Papadhátes a few miles on the left, we enter on the causeway at 8.10, and ride through a most agreeable shade of oaks, wild olives, and planes, festooned with wild vines, and intermixed in the more marshy parts with large reeds. The causeway, which rests on a great number of arches, is said to be two hundred years old, and to have been built by a certain bey of Vrakhóri, who probably took advantage of the foundations of a more ancient work. A gentle stream flows through the arches from right to left. We arrive at the end of the causeway at 8.30, cross the remainder of the plain, and, ascending the last slope of the heights which border it on the north, arrive at 9.45 at Vrakhóri.

This town occupies a large space of ground, and contains about 500 Turkish, 100 Greek, and 40 Jewish families. It was entirely Turkish not many years ago, but the present Agá has encouraged the Greeks to reside. The Turkish houses have large gardens attached to them, with high stone walls to hide the windows of the harém, and they are built in a more antique

Turkish taste than is commonly seen in Greece. The Greek houses are small, and situated in the lower part of the town. In the afternoon I visit Yusúf Agá, the Musellím of Karlilí, of which district Vrakhóri is the chief town. Yusúf, who has resided here during the last seven years, with the exception of one, owes his promotion to his cousin of the same name, who is the powerful Validé Kiáyassy, and, like his relative, a native of Khaniá in Crete[1]. In consequence of the Musellím's interest at court, Alý Pashá finds it necessary to treat him with respect; received him lately with great distinction at *Nicopolis*, and affects to place his Dervéni troops under Yusúf's orders, which is believed by many to be nothing less than a trap laid by the crafty Albanian to bring Yusúf into disgrace; for not long ago, a hasné[2], which the latter had forwarded from Krávari with 40 soldiers, in its way to Constantinople was attacked by the robbers at Makrinóro, which is not very likely to have happened without the Pashá's connivance.

The royal farms of the revenue in this part of Greece are divided as follows: Karlilí, Mesolónghi, 'Epacto, Krávari, Badrajík, (Neópatra), and Karpenísi. Alý Pashá has Mesolónghi, to

[1] Κρητικὸς ἀπὸ τὰ Χανιά.

[2] This word is applied to any portion, however small, of the imperial revenue. To rob the hasné by open violence is one of the most heinous of offences in the eyes of the Turkish government; to do so by any other means, is the object and practice of every official man in Turkey.

which is attached Magúla, a village of 50 houses, and Neokhóri of 150; chorographically these form part of Karlilí, as well as Vónitza at its opposite extremity, which is separated from it politically, as being one of the Ex-Venetian places. As the inferior branches of revenue in Turkey are often farmed separately from the mirí, Yusúf has that of the kharátj in Badrajík, Karpenísi, Krávari, and 'Epakto.

Karlilí[1], besides the towns of Vrakhóri, Mesolónghi, Anatolikó, and Vónitza, contains 140 villages of various sizes; many of these, situated in the plain of Vrakhóri, are mere tjiftlíks belonging to the Turks of this town. The kazá, which contains all *Acarnania*, and a great part of *Ætolia*, is divided into four parts: Vlokhós, and Zygós, to the left of the Aspro; Valto and Xerómero, to the right. The two first are separated from one another by the northern bank of the middle lake, which is all included in Zygós, as the eastern lake is entirely in Apókuro, which district is bordered to the eastward by Krávari, as Zygós is by Venetikó, or the district of 'Epakto. Apókuro is included in the Turkish kazá of Karpenísi; but Krávari is considered a separate district, of which the chief town is Lumbotiná. Vlokhó borders, northward, on 'Agrafa, and Valto on the Arta kázasi; the latter includes the Makrinóro, and follows the course of the Aspro as far as a line drawn

[1] This name is supposed to have been attached to the country by the Turks, because on their first arrival they found it in the possession of a Frank prince, named Charles Tocco.

from the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta, until it meets the Aspro, about Angheló-kastro. All the country westward of that line between the Aspro and the Gulf of Arta, constitutes Xerómero, which thus corresponds nearly with the ancient Acarnania. Βάλτος, though the ordinary meaning of the word is marsh, is said to be so called, as being for the most part a woody desert. Xerómero seems to have derived its name from its deficiency in water, when compared with Zygós, Valto, and Apókuro, and Zygós from the ridge of *Aracynthus*, though it contains also the level and lake at the foot of this mountain on either side. Apókuro, as I before hinted, appears to be an ancient name corrupted.

The whole of Karlilí, with the exception of the principal town, has suffered excessively from the wars carried on between the kleftes and the Dervént Agá, so that at present it does not contain, exclusively of the towns which I have named, a population of 20,000 souls.

Angheló-kastro, which is a conspicuous object from Vrakhóri, is a ruined castle on the summit of a low peak at the north-western extremity of Mount Zygós, not far from the Aspro. At the foot of the height, towards the river, is a small village of the same name. There are said to be some Hellenic foundations on the hill, as well as in the plain below it, marking probably the site of *Conope*, afterwards called *Arsinoe*.

June 16.—A beautiful little bronze figure of Hercules, wanting an arm, which I observed yesterday in my lodging, and which my host stated

to have been brought from Vlokhó, a monastery on a lofty hill to the eastward of Vrakhóri, where he described some extensive ruins, at once points out the probability of that place being the site of *Thermus;* which, at the time when Greek art was in perfection, was noted for its numerous statues[1]. Setting out this morning, therefore, at 5.5, and riding through currant grounds and vineyards, among which, on the left, are a kiosk and gardens of Yusúf Agá, I cross, at 5.50, the river Ermítza, which issues from a ravine among the hills between Vrakhóri and Vlokhó; in winter it covers a wide gravelly bed, and even now is a respectable stream. The name is encouraging to a search for *Thermus*, as it seems to be a corruption of that word. Instead of ascending to Vlokhó by the nearest way, we leave it on the left, and follow the plain towards the shore of the eastern lake, or lake of Apókuro, for the purpose of visiting another Paleó-kastro which has been described to me: pass through some fields of maize and corn, and numerous plane trees, and at 7.5 arrive at the remains of a Hellenic fortress, situated on a height one third of a mile distant from the edge of the lake, between which and the ruins stands a tjiftlík, or zevgalatía, called Kúvelo[2].

The entire circuit of the ancient fortifications still subsists, surrounding a height which forms the last slope of Mount Viéna. The circumference is about a mile. On the summit are the ruins of an

[1] Polyb. l. 5, c. 9.

[2] Κούβελος

oval Acropolis, ninety-five yards in length, flanked with towers on the exterior side, and towards the town defended by a double wall without towers. At the southern extremity of the oval, a semi-circular tower, twenty-three feet in diameter, looks down upon and enfilades the whole line of the southern walls, of which a great part of the towers and curtains are still standing. This semi-circular tower is nearly complete, and has three windows in the middle of the curve. At the northern end of the Acropolis are two towers formed of small stones and mortar, raised upon the ruins of the ancient walls, (a repair probably of the time of the lower Greeks or Franks,) and adjacent to them, on the northern town-wall, three or four of the ancient towers, with the intermediate curtains: of the rest of that front, which follows in a curve line the crest of the height towards a narrow vale grown with corn, there is very little left, and still less of the western side towards Kúvelo and the lake. This fortress, standing on the foot of the mountain a little above the lake, was well placed to command the passage along the shore to the eastward or southward, or in other words, the ancient route from Thermus and every part of the great Ætolian plain, in the direction of the vale of the Evenus and Naupactus. Beyond the fortress, at the south-eastern end of the lake, the mountains descend quite to the water, and leave only a difficult road along the margin.

This is far the largest of all the lakes of Acarnania and Ætolia, and is so deep towards the extremity that it has the reputation of being un-

fathomable: it abounds in fish, but they are caught only in the shallows towards the causeway, by means of monóxyla, one of which is now lying near the shore at Kúvelo. On the opposite shore of the lake, the slope of Mount *Aracynthus* is more gradual than it is on the shore of the western lake, or lake of Zygós, where, especially beyond Papadhátes, the woody mountains extend to the water side. At the foot of the mountain, south-eastward of Ston Gambo, and opposite to Kúvelo, there is a cultivated tract containing the village of Gávala, or Kávala [1], and several tjiftlíks. It is probably the territory of Trichonium, from which the lake took its ancient name.

From Kúvelo, after returning for half an hour by the same road, we turn out of it to the right, and begin to ascend the mountain of Vlokhó, which is very steep, and covered with a thick wood of oak [2], ilex [3], and holly-oak [4]. The ilex affords the best timber; its stem resembles that of the holly-oak; the leaves are larger, (and not so prickly) smooth, small, and dark-coloured, oblong, pointed, and serrated, with serratures very long and close. Besides these trees, there are many ordinary shrubs, among which are wild olives, brambles, and wild vines, making the ride cool and agreeable, though the path is so bad that Philip and his army could hardly have taken more time to reach the summit than I do with a couple of Albanian soldiers. At length we arrive at a

[1] Γκάβαλα, Κάβαλα.
[2] δένδρον.
[3] ἀριὰ or ἀρεύς.
[4] πιρνάρι or πουρνάρι.

small grassy level surrounded by woody heights, and crossed by a brook shaded with planes, which descends from the summit of the hill. From hence upwards to the village of Vlokhó the path is still steeper than before, and is traced in a zigzag among corn-fields, olive plantations, and pear-trees, bearing a small well-flavoured fruit now ripe : the wild pear also abounds. At the distance of an hour and a half from the kastro of Kúvelo we pass through Vlokhó, where are the sources which supply the rivulet, and about ten inhabited houses, with a large one in ruins, dispersed among some large walnut-trees. Two or three hundred yards higher up the hill, is another collection of cottages, with a little garden ground. These villages and cultivated ground occupy a hollow under the summit of the mountain on the southern side, and stand about the centre of the site of the ancient city.

At the upper village we find a monk belonging to the monastery which stands on the summit of the hill, and invite ourselves to dine there. He speedily procures a lamb, places it on the shoulders of one of the villagers, and thus accompanied we proceed to the monastery. From the upper huts of Vlokhó the ascent is very steep. Half-way to the summit we arrive at a part of the ancient wall, which followed the crest of a ridge descending from the citadel to the south-west. The wall was constructed of great masses of various shapes, accurately fitted to one another; higher up, near the foot of the Acropolis, the stones are still larger. One of them, a trapezium, measures ten feet by the

largest diagonal, and is six feet four inches broad; another on the surface is equal to a square of seven feet and a half. Few are less than three or four feet. The Acropolis and its rocks are still towering above our heads, but we reach at length, by a zigzag road, a narrow passage between two parallel walls, which was evidently the approach to the gate of the Acropolis, and arrive at the monastery at the end of half an hour's ride from the upper Vlokhó.

This building, dedicated to the Virgin and called the Panaghía of Vlokhós[1], stands on an oval tabular level, bordered on all sides by steep rocks, but rather less difficult of approach on the western side, where we ascended. To the north-eastward the mountain slopes rapidly to a deep ravine between slopes cultivated with corn, on the opposite side of which rises the great mountain of Viéna, or Kyría Evghénia; an appellation which, according to the kaloyéri of the convent, was derived from a βασιλοπούλα, or princess Eugenia, who concealed herself, when pursued by her enemies, in a cavern which the monks point out to me just under the highest summit of the mountain, and there died. Who these ladies, Eugenia and Irene, were, whose names remain attached to two of the mountains of Ætolia, it would be vain to conjecture with our scanty knowledge of the history of Ætolia under

[1] ἡ Παναγία τοῦ Βλωχοῦ. Names terminating in ος may be pronounced either with or without the final letter, the vulgar form being the third case with the preposition, as στὸν Βλωχὸν, and the final ν being usually dropt.

the Byzantine empire, for to that time the names are evidently to be referred. The other summits of Mount Viéna, which from its magnitude and central situation I conceive to be the Panætolium of Pliny [1], are distinguished by the names of the nearest villages, the whole being called Viéna [2], which is probably nothing more than a Bulgarian corruption of Εὐγένεια. The range terminates to the north in a peaked summit above the village of Arákhova, in the district of Karpenísi. Half way down from the retreat of the unfortunate princess, and immediately opposite to Vlokhó, stood a village of fifteen houses, named Lykokhóri [3], which about eight years ago fell down the side of the mountain, and disappeared with all the adjoining soil; the inhabitants fortunately had retired, having taken warning from the previous trembling and cracking of the earth. Aware of what was likely to happen, the monks watched the place, but it slipped off in the night, and they heard only the awful crash.

While our dinner is preparing, one of the monks guides and assists me in climbing up the rocks of an upper summit, by a path known only to themselves. This height, which is named Ogla, is 200 yards long and 30 broad, similar in shape to the entire summit of which it constitutes about a fourth part; and thus forming a sort of keep to this natural castle; its precipices on the further side from the monastery are a continuation with an increased height of those on the eastern

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2. [2] Βηένα. [3] Λυκοχώριον.

side of the entire hill. The summit of Ogla is level and carpeted, like the larger summit, with a delicate herbage. This fine geographical station comprehends in its view to the southward Mount Khelmós beyond Kalávryta, and to the northward the vast serrated rock of Djumérka beyond Arta, points distant from each other more than 100 miles in a straight line. The mountains of 'Agrafa are seen to the right of the latter, and other points more distant to the east, which are probably a part of *Othrys*. *Œta* and *Parnassus* are hid by Mount Viéna. The summits near the head of the Gulf of Arta are visible to the left of Djumérka, then the mountain of Suli, the *Acarnanian* heights near Vónitza, Várnaka and Tragamésti, and then the range of Zygós, above which appear the great mountain of Kefalonía, and the rocks of Oxía and Kurtzolári. Above the lofty hills at the end of the lake of Apókuro appear the mountains Varássova and Kakí-skala, and that of Rígani, above 'Epakto, beyond which are the great *Peloponnesian* hills 'Olono, Voidhiá, and Khelmós. The plain of Vrakhóri is extended in front of the prospect, with its three lakes, and the broad white bed of the *Achelous*, from which the modern name, Aspro, was evidently derived. The nearer country, at the back of the hills of Vlokhó and Vrakhóri, is very rugged and mountainous as far as can be seen, nor do I perceive any cultivation, or a single village. Deep ravines surround the hill of Vlokhó on every side excepting to the south. On the west a stream shaded with planes follows the foot of the hill, traverses half-way down a little cultivation round a metókhi of the monastery, and

joins one of the lakes, near the causeway. Farther westward is a narrow valley watered by the Ermítza, the sources of which are at a considerable distance to the north. The springs at Vlokhó form a branch of the rivulet flowing along the ravine which separates the hill of Vlokhó from the mountain of Kyría Evghénia. Their junction and subsequent discharge into the lake of Apókuro are not far westward of Kúvelo.

It is curious that Vlokhó, though of so little importance at present, not only stands on the site of the ancient capital, but still gives name to a great part of *Ætolia*, of which it is in fact the natural citadel. The modern name is Sclavonic, and seems to indicate, that when the barbarians of that race conquered this part of Greece, in the decline of the Byzantine empire, the advantages of the site caused it to be their principal fortress, and the chief place of a large district. When the French were at Prévyza, and an invasion was expected, the Turks of Vrakhóri prepared to retire for security to Vlokhó[1].

The form and position of *Thermus* were such as the Greeks seem generally to have considered the most advantageous; namely, a triangle on the slope of a pyramidal hill, bordered on either side by a torrent flowing in a deep ravine, and having a summit convenient for an acropolis. The citadel was generally the apex of the triangle, and often itself, therefore, of a triangular form, but when the summit of the hill was level, the citadel was sometimes oval, such as I have

[1] During the Greek revolution it again became of importance.

already described at Kúvelo, and at the ruins of *Phigaleia* and *Theisoa* in the Moréa. But this was probably a very ancient manner of fortifying, which was seldom followed in the meridian ages of Greece, when square towers and straight curtains were the general method. In the instance of Vlokhó the ground was formed by nature for an oval acropolis.

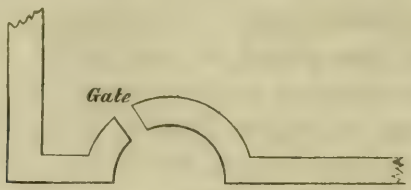
The entire circumference of the city was about two miles and a half; the walls are in best preservation on the western side. Here the foundations, with some of the lower courses of masonry, are to be seen, following the entire crest of the ridge; in some places there are considerable pieces of the wall, all of polygonal masonry, though generally of smaller stones than those which I described below the acropolis.

There were no towers, but only short flanks at intervals of 60 or 100 yards: on the eastern side I could not trace any remains of the wall between the citadel and a small level about half-way down the hill, which was not far from the south-eastern angle of the city. But the fall on this side being much steeper, there was not so much necessity for defence as on the other side, where the easier declivity not only required a stronger fortification, but has been the means of preserving it better than on the eastern side, where the materials as they have fallen may have rolled down the hill. To the south, the walls crossed some transverse ridges, on the borders of the hollow in which the two villages are situated, but considerably below the lower village. Little more than foundations are traceable on this side.

The only remains of a public edifice within the walls of this capital of one of the most influential people in Greece, and which, when it was taken by Philip, was noted for its riches, is a square pyramidal shapeless mass of stones, on a line with the cottages of upper Vlokhó, near the western wall. I inquired in vain for medals, or other remains of antiquity.

At a little before 5 we begin to descend from the monastery, which is soon afterwards occupied by some guests less welcome; namely, a body of armatolí, ranging the country, and living at the public expense. Turning at the upper huts of Vlokhó, to the right of the road, by which we mounted the hill, we cross the western wall, and descend the ridge along the outside of it as far as the south-western angle, where the southern wall of the town began to cross the valley. In the latter, a little beyond the angle, is a semi-circular retiring of the wall, about ten yards in diameter, with a plain unornamented opening in it which was evidently one of the principal gates of the city. The gate is not in the middle of the semi-circle, but a little to the left, and the whole construction furnishes an example of one of the many ingenious modes devised by the Greeks for strengthening their gates and the approaches to them. The semi-circle had the same intention as the square court which is sometimes found before the gates of Hellenic cities; in the present instance it not only admitted of a concentration of missiles, particularly on the right or unshielded side of the enemy, but exposed

him, when he had reached the gate, to the reverse of the western wall.



Leaving this spot at 5.45, we descend by zigzag paths, among the hills, to the ravine on the western side of the city, and having crossed the stream which flows along it, enter soon afterwards the plain of Vrakhóri; we then ride over a fine soil quite uncultivated, in a direction parallel to the foot of the mountain, enter the currant grounds and vineyards of Vrakhóri, and at 7 cross the Ermítza at the mills where we passed it in the morning, following the same road from thence as before, and at half-past 7 re-entering Vrakhóri.

June 17.—This morning, at a few minutes before 6, I proceed northward along the plain, in a direction parallel to the foot of the hills, and at 6.25 arrive at Zapándi, a village of 120 houses, two thirds of which are Turkish. After waiting a quarter of an hour for a guide, to ford the river, we begin to cross it at 7.20. In winter the passage is seldom attempted, the waters often filling the entire bed, which is not less than three quarters of a mile in width; but at present the river is divided into five or six rapid streams, two of which only are large, and require a guide: not so much on account of their depth as because the bottom is a loose gravel and sand, with many holes and quick-

sands; and the perámata or safe places for passing, shifting frequently, are well known only to those who reside on the spot. In the present season the afternoon's storms in the mountains sometimes produce sudden floods which are dangerous, but in the forenoon the river is generally passable. The water is now not higher than a Turkish stirrup, and we find no inconvenience except from the round stones at the bottom, which make the horse stumble occasionally. But the guide who walks alongside on foot, and leads the horse, quickly raises him when he makes a false step, encouraging him by his voice, and recommending to the rider to look at the bank, that the current may not make him giddy[1]. A little below the ford the bed is wider than where we cross it, and takes a turn to the westward. The dry part is covered with trunks of trees, the wintry spoils of the woods of *Pindus*.

After a halt of half an hour on the right bank, we reach at 8.24 the ruins of a large Hellenic town, undoubtedly Stratus; for Stratus, according to the ancient authorities, stood on the right bank of the Achelous, in the same plain which contained the lake Trichonis, and at a distance of 200 stades from the sea, by the course of the river[2]: all which

[1] *νὰ μὴ τοῦ σκοτίσῃ τὸ τρεχούμενον.*

[2] *Στράτος ἀναπλοῦν ἔχουσα τῷ Ἀχελῴῳ πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων σταδίων . . . . . ἀρχαῖαν (Αἰτωλίαν) μὲν, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελώου μέχρι Καλυδῶνος παραλίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ἀνήκουσαν, εὐκάρπου τε καὶ πεδιάδος· ἥ ἐστι καὶ Στράτος καὶ τὸ Τριχώνιον, ἀρίστην ἔχον γῆν.*

Strabo, p. 450.

Thucyd. l. 2, c. 80, 102; l. 3, c. 106; Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4, c. 6; Diodor. l 12, c. 47, l. 19, c. 67; Polyb. l. 4, c. 63, l. 5, c. 6, 14, 96; Liv. l. 36, c. 11, l. 43, c. 22.

accords perfectly with this place. The eastern wall of the city followed the bank of the river, just at the point where it touches the last falls of the hills of Valto, which are here low, but rise gradually to the north-north-west, and extend to the head of the Gulf of Arta, where they terminate abruptly in the pass of Makrinóro: a parallel ridge rises gradually from the plain not far to the south-westward of *Stratus*, and ends at the Gulf of Arta in the hill called Sparto-vúni. Between these two ridges lies a long valley commencing at the ruins of *Stratus*, and at a village opposite to it called Lepenú, and terminating to the north-west in an easy pass, through which is a descent into the plain of Xerókambo, near the south-eastern corner of the Gulf of Arta. It is evident from this construction of the country, that Stratus was a military position of importance. Being situated at the point where the valley of Lepenú meets that of the *Achelous*, and where they both open into the great *Ætolian* plain, it commanded two of the principal approaches to that plain from the northward, at the same time that it was not far removed from a third, which I shall presently have occasion to mention.

The first object in the ruins of Stratus that strikes the traveller after crossing the river, is a small door in the south-eastern angle of the town wall. Thirty yards below it, on the water side, are some foundations, whether those of the peribolus of a temple, or belonging to a wharf, it is impossible to say. The door has a semicircular top, not constructed on the principles of the arch, but by hollowing the horizontal courses of stone

into a semicircular form, in the same manner as is seen in many places, both in Greece and Egypt. The door is 10 feet high, and 5 feet 6 inches wide; the stones very large, and, as commonly occurs in Greek fortresses, larger than in the other parts of the wall. This door leads into an uneven space about a mile in circumference, surrounded on all sides by remains, more or less traceable, of the town walls, which are of the third kind of masonry, in some parts nearly approaching to the most regular species. Half way from the door, towards the highest part of the inclosure which is diagonally opposite to the gate, are the remains of a theatre, situated in a hollow, having its right side near the western wall of the above-mentioned enclosure, and fronting the south. Its interior diameter below is 105 feet, and there seem to have been about thirty rows of seats, all of which might probably be brought to light by excavation. But this inclosure towards the river, which contained the theatre, was not much more than a third of the whole city. The remainder stood on lower and more even ground, and the circuit of its walls, which are every where traceable, occupied the summits of several heights which border the valley of Lepenú, or follow the contour of the ridges uniting those heights. The wall which parted the two portions of the city terminates at the north-western summit before mentioned. Here seems to have been a small citadel, but it was scarcely higher than the adjoining part of the same ridge on the outside of the walls, and at the distance of two or three hundred

yards was commanded, together with almost the entire site, by the external heights. A gate remains in the partition wall, near the summit, a little beyond which, to the westward, are some ruined huts, and some fruit-trees, once belonging to the village of Surovígli [1]. In the northern wall of the greater or western inclosure, a little below the summit, are some towers and intervening curtains, which are almost perfect. The circumference of the western inclosure appears to be between two and three thousand yards, and the entire circuit of the city about two miles and a half. The arm of the *Achelous* (for the river is here divided into several streams), which flows at the foot of the eastern wall, although narrow, is rapid, deep, and difficult to pass, even at this season, so that the river was a considerable protection to the place. As a fortress, however, Stratus could not have been considered very strong when poliorcetics were in the state of improvement which they reached after the time of Alexander.

The external ridge commanding the citadel illustrates one of the circumstances of the attempt made by Perseus to occupy Stratus, in the winter of the year B.C. 170—169. The king, who having undertaken the expedition at the request of the Epirotes, had marched through their country, was met on the frontiers of Ætolia by Archidamus, the strategus of Ætolia, who accompanied him to Stratus, then belonging to the Ætolian confederacy. But as usual in the states of Greece, there were two factions in

[1] Σουροβίγλι.

Ætolia, and while Archidamus was proceeding to meet Perseus, the opposite party had sent for Popillius, who was at Ambracia, and who entered the city with a thousand men, on the very night that Perseus encamped upon the Achelous, near Stratus. Dinarchus also, commander of the cavalry of Ætolia, who had come ostensibly to meet Perseus, joined the adverse side, and entered the city. The king, nevertheless, having with him an army of 10,000 men, and the chief magistrate of Ætolia, still hoped that the Ætolians in the town would come out and join him, and with this view presented himself on the heights above the city; but finding that instead of any advances to a communication he was threatened with missiles, he retired five miles to the river Petitarus, and from thence to Aperantia [1].

The summit of the ruins commands a fine view of the Aspropótamo upwards, and of the hilly country near its banks, terminated by the mountains of 'Agrafa in the distance; the quantity of snow on which seems to show that the highest summits are nearly equal in height to 'Olono and Khelmós. At less than two hours above Surovígli, the river is joined, on the same side, by a tributary which originates to the eastward of Mount Makrinóro, and at an equal distance beyond the river are the ruins of another Hellenic city, at a village near the right bank, named Prevéntza. The river I take to be the Petitarus, if this name be correct in the text of Livy, and the ruins those of the town of Aperantia, of which Prevéntza may be

[1] Liv. l. 43, c. 21.

a corruption. Livy indeed seems to allude to Aperantia only as a district; but Stephanus, in reference to the corresponding passage of Polybius, which is lost, shows the city also to have been named Ἀπεράντεια. The general situation of the place accords with a transaction relating to Aperantia, which occurred twenty years before the expedition of Perseus, and which is recorded by Polybius and by Livy in nearly the same terms. When Amynander had recovered his kingdom of Athamania from Philip, the Ætolians who had assisted him thought the opportunity favourable for recovering Aperantia and Amphilochia for themselves. Nicandrus, the strategus, therefore, proceeding first into Amphilochia, probably because it was the more important of the two, although more distant from Ætolia, found the greater part of the people ready to receive him, and met with easy success; he then moved into Aperantia with the same result, and from thence proceeded into Dolopia, where the people, having never belonged to Ætolia, hesitated at first to receive him, but on learning the state of affairs, and that Philip had no farther hopes from their neighbours, the Athamanes, they joined the Ætolians [1].

While I was seated in the theatre, a drove of 300 Wallachian oxen, every one of which was white, passed through the ruins to Tragamésti to be shipped for the Islands. Besides these, which are on their passage from Wallachia, large herds and flocks are brought to feed in the winter and spring in the plains of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia* from

[1] Polyb. l. 22. c. 8. Liv. l. 38, c. 3.

'Agrafa, and the other mountainous districts around *Thessaly*. The oxen of the latter countries are generally dark coloured.

Leaving the ruins of *Stratus* at 10.15, we ascend the valley which branches from the plain to the north-westward, and arrive at 11 at Lepenú, or Lepenió [1], a village of forty families, on the side of the valley opposite to Surovígli. In the vale just below it, are some copious sources of water. Lepenú is one of the principal villages of Valto, but has much diminished in population, from the same causes which have annihilated Surovígli. Being quickly driven out of the house of the Proëstós by the fleas, I remove to the gate of the court-yard, which having, as usual in this part of the country, a large tiled roof, affords sufficient shelter in this season.

The Proëstós confirms several Hellenic positions which I have heard of, but not yet seen. In *Ætolia* those of Anghelókastro, Papadhátes, and St. George, seem to be the most remarkable; the last is reckoned three hours from Anghelókastro. Some monks of St. George, who came here lately, affirmed that the kastro at Surovígli is not to be compared to theirs, by which perhaps they meant only that the walls of the latter are in better preservation. A peasant, whom I encountered in the ruins at Surovígli, remarked that the city was the capital of the surrounding country. He judged merely from their extent; for probably not an in-

[1] Λεπενοῦ, Λεπενιόν. The former is the more vulgar form, and is generally pronounced in the Albanian manner, with a guttural L, Liepenú.

dividual in Acarnania or Ætolia has ever heard of the name or history of Stratus.

It is chiefly from the narrative given by Polybius[1] of the capture of Thermus by Philip, son of Demetrius, that we obtain a knowledge of the ancient geography of the central part of Ætolia, or great inland plain now occupied by Vrakhóri, from which the chief strength and opulence of this province of Greece has in all ages been derived. In the second year of the Social War B. C. 218, Philip, taking advantage of the absence of Dorimachus with half the Ætolian forces in Thessaly, raised the siege of Palæa in Cephallenia, and sailed to Leucas, from whence, after having caused his ships to be dragged across the Dioryctus, or sandy isthmus of Leucas, he entered the Ambracic Gulf, and reached Limnæa on the morning after his arrival at Leucas. Having been joined by all the forces of Acarnania, he moved from Limnæa towards the evening[2] without baggage. At the end of sixty stades, he halted to allow his troops to repose and take their supper; and then, continuing his route all night, arrived at the break of day on the river Achelous, between Stratus and Conope. His treacherous counsellor, Leontius, wished to give time to the Ætolians to defend themselves; but the better advice of Aratus having prevailed, Philip gave orders for an immediate advance to Thermus, the Ætolian capital. Crossing the river, therefore, and marching with all speed towards that city, he passed, on his left, Stratus, Agrinium, and Thestia, and, on his right,

[1] Polyb. l. 5, c. 5, et seq.

[2] ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Λιμναίας δείλης. —c. 6.

Conope, Lysimachia, Trichonium, and Phytæum [1], and thus arrived at Metapa, situated sixty stades from Thermus, in the defile of the lake Trichonis [2], the passage along which was rendered very narrow and dangerous by the rugged woody mountains on its margin [3]. The Ætolians having abandoned Metapa, he occupied it with five hundred men, to serve as a protection to him, as well in advancing as in returning through the straits [4]. He then conducted his army in column, protecting his right by some light troops thrown out on that flank, while his left was defended by the lake for a distance of thirty stades [5]. At the end of this distance from Metapa, he arrived at a town [6] named Pamphium, and leaving a guard there, then ascended to Thermus by a road which was thirty stades in length, very steep, bordered by danger-

[1] This name varies in the MSS. but *Φύταιον* is the orthography of Stephanus, who refers to a lost passage of the 11th book of Polybius, which contained the narrative of a second occupation of Thermus by Philip, as we learn from a few lines of that part of the 11th book still existing. Mention was there again made of the lake Trichonis and of Phytæum, as well as of another Ætolian town, named Hellopium (vide Stephan. in 'Ελλόπιον).

[2] *ἡ κεῖται μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Τριχωνίδος λίμνης καὶ τῶν παρὰ ταύτῃ στενῶν, ἀπέχει δὲ σχεδὸν ἑξήκοντα στάδια, τοῦ προσαγορευομένου Θέρμου.*—Polyb. l. 5, c. 7.

[3] *ἐστὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπος ὀρεινὸς καὶ τραχὺς, συνηγμένος ταῖς ὕλαις, διὸ καὶ παντελῶς στενὴν καὶ δυσδίοδον ἔχει τὴν πάροδον.*

[4] *βουλόμενος ἐφεδρείᾳ χρήσασθαι πρός τε τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ τῶν στενῶν.*

[5] *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς πορείας ἠσφαλίσθη λίμνῃ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα στάδια.*

[6] *κώμη.*

ous precipices on either side, and in some places very narrow.

Having arrived at Thermus considerably before the close of day, he gave permission to his army to plunder all the surrounding villages, to overrun the plain of the Thermii, and to sack the city itself, which was well furnished with corn and other provisions, and abounded with riches of every kind, having long been the place of meeting of the national assemblies, the centre of the civil and religious as well as commercial affairs of Ætolia; and, from the strength of its situation, considered as the place of refuge and Acropolis of all Ætolia [1]. The temple of Apollo [2] in particular, with its surrounding buildings, was full of valuable furniture and offerings. On the morning after their arrival, the Macedonians separated the part of the plunder which they intended to carry away, and burnt the remainder in heaps before their tents; in which manner they destroyed, among other things, an immense quantity of armour. They burnt, or razed to the ground, the temple, with its stoæ, and threw down all the statues, breaking those which were not figures of the gods or inscribed with their names. The number of images thus demolished or subverted, was not less than two thousand.

Such an act of destruction and impiety was very

[1] ὥστε τῆς συμπάσης Αἰτωλίας οἷον ἀκροπόλεως ἔχειν τάξιν.—c. 8.

[2] The deity to whom the temple was dedicated, is mentioned only in the fragment of the 11th book of Polybius.

repugnant to the manners of Greece, and is severely censured by Polybius, notwithstanding the provocation which Philip had recently received in the similar conduct of the Ætolians at Dium and Dodona; against the former of which places their vengeance had been particularly directed, as being a Macedonian city. But the young monarch was not sufficiently gifted with magnanimity to abstain from retaliation on so fair an opportunity; indeed, it seems to have been the great object of his expedition, and accordingly he inscribed upon the ruined wall of the temple, a senarian iambic, composed by a young poet who accompanied him, for the purpose of reminding the Ætolians that the shaft of vengeance came from Dium[1]. Philip then began his retreat by the same road by which he came. Three thousand Ætolians, under Alexander of Trichonium, who were lying in wait for the purpose, attacked the rear, consisting of mercenaries and Acarnanians, as they began to move from the city, and had put them to flight, when a body of Illyrians, whom Philip, with a view to such a contingency, had placed behind a certain height[2], met them in the pursuit, and killed or made prisoners between two and three hundred of them. The rear then set fire to Pamphium, passed the defiles[3], and joined the Macedonians, who had already arrived at Metapa.

The next day the invaders, having destroyed

[1] Ὁρᾷς τὸ Δῖον, οὗ βέλος διέπτατο;—c. 9.

[2] ὑπό τινα λόφον ὑπεστάλκει τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐν τῇ κατα- βάσει.—c. 13.

[3] διελθόντες τὰ στενά.

Metapa, marched to Acræ, and on the following day to Conope, where they remained one day; they then followed the left bank of the river, as far as Stratus, crossed it near that city, and halted just without the reach of missiles from the walls, thereby offering battle to a body of three thousand Ætolians, who with some cavalry and Cretans had recently entered the place. But it was not until the Macedonians resumed their march that the enemy came forth. The rear then turned, drove back the Ætolians to the gates of the city, and killed one hundred of them; after which, Philip, prosecuting his march without further impediment, rejoined his vessels at Limnæa, and returned to Leucas.

The preceding narrative, when compared with Strabo, will enable us with some confidence to affix the ancient names to the principal existing remains of the cities of the interior of Ætolia, notwithstanding that there is one part of it which I have found impossible to reconcile with an actual view of the country. From the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf of Arta, where it is evident that Limnæa was situated, there is a route for the most part level of about twenty-five miles, as far as the Achelous below Stratus, so that it was not very difficult for Philip, by performing about a third of the distance on the evening of his departure from Limnæa, to effect the other two thirds in the course of the night. The remaining distance of about fifteen miles to Thermus seems equally conformable to the proceedings of the army on the second day, when we may easily conceive that the march to Metapa, which was not

so rapid as to prevent Philip from burning and destroying the country[1], added to the preparations for the passage along the lake to Pamphium, and the usual loss of time in the course of such a march, may have consumed, together with the long and painful ascent to Thermus, all the forenoon and two hours of the afternoon, about which time the Macedonians seem to have arrived at the city. The difficulty in the narrative is, that Philip, in advancing from Metapa to Pamphium, should have marched with his left upon a lake; since, according to the present state of the country, there is no apparent reason why he should have approached either of the lakes, the route from the Aspro by Vrakhóri to Vlokhó, not passing within three miles of them. Or if we suppose that the woods noticed by Polybius then occupied so much of the plain below Vrakhóri, as to force him to follow the margin of the lake, and that Metapa stood about the junction of the river Ermítza with the lake, the distance of that point from Vlokhó being nearly equal to the sixty stades, which the historian assigns as that between Metapa and Thermus: still it is obvious that an army moving from thence to the foot of the mountain of Vlokhó would have had its right and not its left towards the marshes. In order to have approached Vlokhó with his left on one of the lakes, Philip must either have made the circuit of them both, along the foot of Mount Zygós, and then, after rounding the extremity of the lake of Apókuro, and passing by the

[1] ἅμα δὲ προάγων ἐδήου καὶ κατέφθειρε τὴν χώραν.—c. 7.

foot of Mount Viéna along the steep and woody mountains which overhang the lake, have emerged into the plain again near Kúvelo, or he must have crossed between the lakes by the line of the modern causeway, and entered the plain between Vrakhóri and Kúvelo. On the former supposition *Metapa* would have been near the eastern extremity of the lake of Apókuro.

It was impossible, however, for the Macedonians, immediately after a forced march from Limnæa to the Achelous, to have performed even the shorter of these routes, which would have tripled the direct distance from the Achelous to Thermus; or certainly, if such a march were practicable, they could not have arrived at Thermus at the hour which the subsequent transactions of that day render necessary. Possibly it may be thought that the ruins at Kúvelo, although very short of 60 stades from Thermus, are those of Metapa, and that Philip, after having conducted his army directly from the *Achelous* across the plain of Vrakhóri, occupied the fortress at Kúvelo, not with the view of retreating through the passes commanded by it, which lead along the lake in an easterly direction, but merely to protect his operation from any interruption on that side. The purpose seems useful, and the post well suited to it, and we might suppose that in consequence of his possession of it, the Ætolians were induced to attack his rear in a different place, just as it began to retire from Thermus. The deviation to Kúvelo would only have added another hour to his march, and in moving from Kúvelo to Vlokhó the

Macedonians might for a short distance have had their left on the lake. But it is impossible to be satisfied with this explanation. The historian gives positive testimony that the στενὰ, or passes on the borders of the lake, were between Pamphium and Metapa, from the latter of which on his return he proceeded by Acræ to Conope: it seems inevitably to follow, therefore, that Metapa was at the western entrance of the passes, about eight miles to the south-westward of Thermus. The only conclusion seems to be, that the words right and left have, by some negligence either of the historian or his copyers, been substituted for each other in the text. Experience proves that such an error, notwithstanding its importance, is one of the most common that occurs. With this change every thing is clear, Metapa having stood near the lake immediately below Vrakhóri, around which site there were probably woods making the passage difficult. As to Trichonis having been the eastern lake, whereas I suppose Philip to have marched chiefly along the western, that is easily reconciled by the fact that they are only divisions of the same lake, which communicate at the causeway, whence in common parlance the larger division may often have given name to the whole.

I have not entertained the supposition that Thermus could have occupied any other site than that of Vlokhó, the description of Polybius, but still more the magnitude of the ruins leaving scarcely a reasonable doubt on this head in the same manner as the extent of those at Surovígli are a strong confirmation of their being the remains

of Stratus. If we were to suppose Thermus to have stood on the southern side, or at the eastern end of the lake of Apókuro, in which case Philip might certainly have approached it, with his left defended by the lakes, it would in that case have been situated on Mount Aracynthus, or on the mountain which separates that lake from the valley of the Evenus, and would have been at no great distance from Calydon and the sea-coast, instead of having been far in the interior towards the great mountains of Ætolia and the centre of the province, as every evidence respecting Thermus seems clearly to indicate.

Of the places which the Macedonian army left on either hand in their march towards Thermus, after having crossed the Achelous, namely, Conope, Lysimachia, Trichonium, and Phytæum on the right, and Agrinium and Thestia on the left, there can be little doubt that Conope stood at Anghelókastro; for, besides the testimony derived from Polybius in his narrative of the capture of Thermus, from which we learn that it was on the eastern side of the river at a considerable distance below Stratus, the same author in relating some movements of Philip in Acarnania, in the year preceding that of the capture of Thermus, indicates it as standing at about twenty stades from the Achelous[1], which perfectly agrees with the distance of Anghelókastro from the Aspro. Strabo, moreover, as well as Polybius, intimates that it was near one of the ordinary passages of the

[1] Polybius, l. 4, c. 64.

Achelous, which is now the case as to Anghelókastro, and arises in fact from permanent geographical causes.

Conope having received considerable augmentation from Arsinoë, sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, assumed her name instead of that of Conope. Polybius, however, in relating transactions which occurred thirty years after the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, still names it Conope. The neighbouring city which stood at Papadhátes, near the lake of Zygós, seems clearly to have been *Lysimachia*, for Strabo describes the ruins of that city to have been between Pleuron and Arsinoë, on a lake then called Lysimachia, but more anciently Hyria[2], which agrees perfectly with the position of Papadhátes, supposing *Pleuron* to have been at Kyría Iríni, and *Arsinoë* at Anghelókastro. This position of Lysimachia accords also with the march of Antiochus from the Maliac Gulf in the year B.C. 191, when, having appointed Stratus as the place for meeting the Ætolians, he marched thither by Naupactus, Calydon, and Lysimachia[3]. We may infer from the name of this city, that it was founded by Lysimachus, when, as King of Macedonia, his dominion extended over the greater part of Greece. If the site was occupied more anciently, the name of the town may possibly have been Hyrie, in like manner as in later times both town and lake were named Lysimachia. As Antoninus Liberalis, in relating the

[1] εὐφυῶς ἐπικειμένη πως τῇ τοῦ Ἀχελώου διαβάσει.—Strabo, p. 460.

[2] Strabo, p. 460.

[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 11.

fable of the conversion of Cycnus into a swan, gives to the lake in which Cycnus destroyed himself the name of Conope [1], it is evident that the ancients considered the lake of Zygós as the scene of this fable, and it becomes probable, therefore, that Ovid, who in describing the same metamorphosis, couples the Cycneïa Tempe with Hyrie [2], alluded by the former name to the Klisúra of Zygós, which is precisely such a place as the Greeks denominated a Tempe.

The river Cyathus, which, according to Polybius, as quoted by Athenæus [3], flowed near Arsinoë, corresponds to the stream which, issuing from the lake of Zygós, joins the *Achelous*, not far from Anghelókastro. The principal sources which form both the lakes are at the foot of the steep mountain overhanging the eastern, or lake of Apókuro; a current flows from east to west through the two lakes: and the river of Anghelókastro, or *Cyathus*, is nothing more than a continuation of the same stream. Acræ stood perhaps at the place where the river emerges from the lake, this being about midway between the positions which I have assigned to Metapa and Conope.

Notwithstanding the opinion of the antiquaries of Strabo's time, who pointed out some ruins at the foot of Mount Aracynthus, near Pleuron, as those of the Homeric Olenus, there is difficulty in believing that Olenus and Pleuron were so near to each other. It seems more probable that Olenus

[1] Antonin. Liberal. fab. 12.

[2] Inde lacus Hyries videt et Cycneïa Tempe. Ovid Met. l. 7, v. 371.

[3] Athen. l. 10. c. 6.

occupied some advantageous site in the dominions of the Calydonian dynasty, such as that of Gávala, where Trichonium afterwards stood.

The notice taken of Trichonium by several ancient authors[1], as well as the circumstance of its having given name to the largest of the Ætolian lakes, shows it to have been the principal town of the plains, which, according to Strabo, extended from Trichonium to Stratus. The occurrence of its name after that of Lysimachia, among the cities on the right of Philip in his progress towards Thermus, places it beyond a doubt towards the south-eastern extremity of the plains, where Gávala, in a fertile district on the southern side of the Lake of Apókuro, seems perfectly to correspond to the data. Phytæum, having been the last town on the right of Philip's line of march, answers to the ruined polis at Kúvelo, that being moreover the only place, besides Gávala, where any open country is left between the woody mountains and the shore of the lake.

Agrinium and Thestia received their names from Agrius and Thestius, two Ætolian chiefs of the royal race of Calydon and Pleuron, who, in process of time, obtained possessions farther in the interior[2]; for the Ætolians, who went with Thoas to the Trojan war, were all from the districts of Zygós and Apókuro. It is evident that Agrinium was not far from the Achelous, as well from the march of Philip as from an occurrence of the year

[1] Polyb. l. 4, c. 3; l. 5, c. 7. 13; l. 17, c. 10. Pausan. Corinth. c. 37. Stephan. in Τριχώνιον. Strabo, p. 450.

[2] Strabo, p. 461, et seq.

B.C. 314, related by Diodorus, when Agrinium was in alliance with Acarnania against the Ætolians, and when Cassander marched from Macedonia into Ætolia to assist the Acarnanes. By his advice the Acarnanes concentrated their forces, by withdrawing from their smaller fortresses into Stratus, Agrinium, and Ithoria[1]. As soon as Cassander departed, after leaving a garrison in Agrinium, the Ætolians besieged it; and when the inhabitants marched out upon capitulation, treacherously fell upon them in the route, and massacred the greater part of them. It may be inferred from the two testimonies, that Agrinium was not far from Zapándi. Thestia was probably on the heights above Vrakhóri, towards the sources of the Ermítza. The river Campylus, upon which the historian states that Cassander encamped, and held a council with the Acarnanes on his arrival in Ætolia, seems, from all the circumstances mentioned by the historian, to have been that great branch of the *Achelous*, which joins it between Tetárna and Surovígli, not far below the former.

[1] *οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν εἰς Στράτον πόλιν συνῴκησαν ὀχυρωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ μεγίστην· Οἰνιάδαι δὲ καί τινες ἄλλοι συνῆλθον ἐπὶ Σαυρίαν, Δεριεῖς (al. Δοριεῖς) μεθ' ἑτέρων εἰς Ἀγρίνιον.*— Diodor. l. 19, c. 67. Ithoria having been, as we know from Polybius (l. 4, c. 64), beyond Conope, towards Œniadæ, the correction *Ἰθωρίαν* for *Σαυρίαν* is easy. *Δεριεῖς*, or *Δοριεῖς*, though it has rather more the appearance of correctness, is not free from suspicion, the name not being mentioned by any other author. If correct, we may suppose that Derium or Dorium was a town on the Ætolian side of the Achelous, as its people retired into Agrinium.

CHAPTER IV.

ACARNANIA, EPIRUS.

Departure from Lepenú—Kekhreniátza—Kekhreniá—Amvrakía—Sparto—Stanu—Kervasará—Spartovúni—*Limnæa*—Lutráki—Balímbey—Vónitza—Punta, *Actium*—Prévyza—Port Vathý—Ex-Venetian places—*Nicopolis*—Mikhalítzi, *hill of Apollo*—Sail from Prévyza to Salaghóra—Arta, *Ambracia*—River *Arachthus*—Siege of *Ambracia* by Fulvius—*Ambracus*—*Craneia*—*Oreitæ*.

June 18.—The direct route from Lepenú to Amvrakía passes along the foot of the hill of Lepenú, and leaving on the left the lake of Lygovítzi, which discharges its superfluous waters into the right side of the *Achelous*, enters a pass between the ridges of Makhalá and Lepenú, and then follows the eastern bank of the lake of Valto to Amvrakía, which village by this road is seven hours distant. Wishing to explore a little more of the district of Valto than the direct road affords, I send the baggage that way; and taking with me two of the Albanian escort, which Yusúf Agá provided for me, follow up the valley of Lepenú. It soon becomes narrow and quite uncultivated. As we advance, the hills on either side become higher, and the bushes below thicker, until at 5.45 we enter a wood of small oaks, mixed with ilex and prinus, ascending gently by a pleasant shady path, until having arrived at

the summit of the pass we begin at 7 to descend, and at 7.15 arrive at the ruins of some Hellenic walls. One of them crosses the road; others are with difficulty traced among the trees. They are the outworks of a fortress which occupied a height to the left of the road, and was naturally strengthened on two sides by a deep ravine and torrent; thus placed, it commanded the access by this valley from *Amphilochia* to the great plain of the *Achelous*. Within the inclosure, a little to the left of the road, a circular excavation in the ground, thirty-four feet in diameter, is lined with regular masonry of nearly equal courses, one of the stones of which measures four feet six inches in length, and two feet eight inches in height. On one side of the circle there remain eight courses overgrown with trees and bushes, on the other the slope of the bank covers the masonry. Near the walls of the fortress, on the outside, there is an ordinary ancient sepulchre, which has never been opened. The ruins are called the Paleókastro of Kekhreniátza. The latter name is applied to the pass, and to a brook to which I descend in five minutes, after a halt of fifty minutes.

The wall which crosses the road follows it afterwards for three minutes towards the brook. It has in some places six courses of masonry of the third kind, nearly approaching to the fourth, and very accurately joined, except where trees growing on the top have displaced the stones, with their roots. The brook of Kekhreniátza winds through a little uneven vale, ending in a small plain on the shore of the Ambracian Gulf, which is called

Xerókambo, from its want of water; for the brook is lost before it arrives there. It produces, however, corn and Kalambókki, and belongs to the village of Kekhreniá, situated on the side of the steep rocky mountain which borders the ravine of Kekhreniátza to our left, and which separates it from the valley and lake of Valto or Amvrakía. We now quit the road to Xerókambo, and turning to the left cross the ridge of Kekhreniá, passing about the middle of the ascent through that village, which contains thirty Greek families, some dwelling in good pyrghi. We left the brook at 8.18, halt ten minutes at Kekhreniá, and then, proceeding to climb its steep rocky ridge, arrive, at 9.40, at a church of St. Elias, on the summit which commands an extensive view of Xerómero and Valto. These districts are little cultivated or inhabited, but particularly the latter, which consists of woody mountains to the northward, and to the southward of steep ridges inclosing a valley, the greatest part of which is lake or marsh, according to the season. It is this valley which gives name to the sub-district.

Having descended the western side of the ridge, on foot, through a wood of oaks not growing very thickly nor of large size, we arrive, at 10.50, five minutes beyond the foot of the mountain on the edge of the lake; then turning the northern end of it ascend to Amvrakía, which is one-third of the way up a ridge parallel to the one we have passed, and equally steep and rocky. We arrive at 11.30. Spartó is another village on the same mountain, one hour northward of Amvrakía towards the sea.

Stanu is a third, of the same size as Amvrakía, and situated at the same height above the lake, three quarters of an hour to the southward. The part of the Valto, or lake, below Amvrakía, is a narrow shallow creek, about three miles long, branching out of the deeper part of it which is under Papalátes and the monastery of Agrilió.

Amvrakía, or more vulgarly Amvrakiá, contains about forty houses, and as many more in ruins. The Amvrakiotes, to avoid further decay, are about to move their situation higher up the mountain, where they will be less exposed to Turkish passengers, to thieves, and to the hostilities of some of their neighbours, which have caused a part of the vale, on the side of the lake, to be at length quite uncultivated. Their new village is to be called Plató, the position being *level*, though lofty, and already, my host the Proëstós, has spent, he tells me, twenty purses in building a house there.

In the evening I descend the mountain of Amvrakía, in 40 minutes, to its Skala, from whence are exported planks, velanídhi, grain, and cattle. It is called Kervasará [1], and is situated in a valley at the head of a long bay which forms the south-eastern extremity of the gulf of Arta. To the eastward of the valley rises the mountain named Spartovúni, a lower continuation of which extends to the entrance of the bay, and falls on the eastern side to Xerókambo. The latter valley terminates

[1] Κερβασαράς is derived from Karavanserai, though no such Turkish place of reception is now to be found there.

at Armyró, where is a skala and shallow harbour, separated from the sea on the west by a low coast, which appears from Kervasará projecting to the left of the cape of Spartovúni. To the westward of the bay of Kervasará rises the continuation of the ridge of Amvrakía, on which stands the village of Spartó, once perhaps situated on the opposite mountain which now bears that name, for, as we have seen in the instance of Amvrakía, villages have a locomotive faculty in this country.

At the inner point of the bay, south-east of the magazines of Kervasará, are the walls of a large Hellenic town, occupying a height which rises from the right bank of a torrent, and reaches to the sea side. The place was fortified like Stratus, that is to say, there is no appearance of an Acropolis of the usual kind, but the inclosed space was divided by a transverse wall into two parts, which are here more equal than at Stratus: many towers remain on the land-fronts. The masonry is of various ages; some parts are entirely polygonal, others consist of regular and equal courses. But the greater part of the work is of the third order, or of a kind between the two former. There are remains also of repairs with mortar, of a much later period. Doubtless the post has always been one of importance, as commanding the most easy and natural access into Acarnania from Epirus, both by sea and land. The inclosed space is overgrown with the kharúb, oak, wild olive, and a great variety of shrubs, which often give shelter to deer, and other wild animals abounding in the adjacent woods. Beyond Xeró-

kambo is the plain of Vlíkha, where at the foot of the mountains are the remains of a Hellenic city, described as being of larger compass than those at Kersavará, but not so well preserved. It is probably the ancient Argos of Amphilochia. Beyond the plain of Vlíkha begins the Makrinóro, a mountain covered with a forest of oaks, and falling steeply to the shore of the gulf. The road along its declivity, which is reckoned three hours in length, forms a pass resembling that of the Gates of Syria, at the head of the gulf of Skanderún. Returning to Amvrakía, some *παλαιὰ μνήματα* occur on the road-side. They are ancient sepulchres of the most ordinary kind, or formed of four slabs set edgewise in the ground, and covered with other slabs.

The existence of the name *Ἀμβρακία* attached to a modern village in this part of the country has a great tendency to confuse the ancient geography, as leading to the belief that the ruins at Kervasará are those of the ancient Ambracia. But Ambracia was certainly on the northern side of the gulf, at some distance from the sea. The fact is, that Amvrakía is a village of recent construction, to which the founders gave that name in consequence of a prevalent opinion, that the ruins at Kervasará are those of Ambracia. That the error is of long standing, we learn from Meletius, who himself fell into it, and who, having been Bishop of Arta, was probably the false luminary which led the founders of Amvrakía to give their village that name. I have little doubt that the ruins at Kervasará are those of *Limnæa*, from whence Philip began his march to Thermus.

June 19.—At 5 we begin to climb the steep rugged mountain at the back of Amvrakía. At 5.40, arrive at the summit which forms the separation between Xerómero and Valto, and begin to descend. It is observable that this mountain, as well as the two parallel ranges, and the same may be said of many others in this part of Greece, are bare on the eastern side, and well clothed with trees on the western. As we descend, Katúna, a village of Xerómero, pleasantly situated on a hill, with a cultivated valley below it, is on the left, and rather behind us: beyond it towards the sea, distant 10 or 12 miles, rises a high ridge, on which stands Závitza, not in sight. To the right of Katúna appears the bold round mountain called Búmisto, and more in front of us a lofty ridge with a peaked summit, named Várnaka, from a village on it towards the sea. On this side of it there is a fine vale, which extends to Katúna, and is well cultivated with corn. Towards the Gulf of Arta appears a valley and a green marsh, overgrown with shrubs and timber trees. The mountain beyond it is covered with a thick forest. Having descended on foot through the wood, and arrived in the vale at 6.20, we leave, after a halt of ten minutes, the marsh to the left, and pass through a wood on the side of it. Cattle are feeding round it, and towards the southern end there are a few fields of wheat now falling under the sickle. At 7.20, near the head of the Bay of Lutráki, leaving to the right the road to the monastery of Kendrómata, and to Vlikha, Makrinóro, and Arta, we ascend a height, and at 7.25 look

down to the right, on the head of the Bay of Lutráki. The beach is covered with firewood, piled in stacks for embarkation; and farther on are some magazines, near which a polacca brig is at anchor, loading the wood. At 7.53 the road crosses a bridge over a torrent, which is shaded with planes, and bordered by slopes clothed with oaks and planes, festooned with wild vines, and where the kharúb and the paliúri, covered with a profusion of blossoms, are mixed with the aromatic shrubs with which Greece so eminently abounds, and peopled with nightingales singing in the deep shade. After a halt of 12 minutes we pursue our route along the side of the forest of oak, which covers the mountain, with the gulf at a short distance on the right, and then pass through a narrow tract between the sea and the forest, where are a few fields of maize, watered by rivulets from the mountain.

At 8.35 occurs a tjiftlík belonging to Alý Pashá, named Balím Bey, situated half a mile from the sea. Here the French consul, Lasalle, about the year 1788, embarked the greatest part of the timber which he cut down in the neighbouring mountain, for the use of the naval yard at Toulon. There still remain however some very large trees, the finest I have yet seen in Greece. Soon afterwards we enter the thickest part of the forest, leaving the village of Nisí half an hour to the right. The road to Lefkádha[1] turns off to the

[1] Λευκάδα, that is Leucas in the usual Romaic form of the accusative case.

left about three quarters of an hour beyond Balím Bey. We lose our way in the wood, and are 40 minutes in recovering it. At 10.15 having gained the summit of a ridge, which terminates in a cape called Gheládha [1], on the eastern side of the Bay of Vónitza, this town opens to view, and to the left of it the lake called Vulkaría, with a woody and marshy tract on this side of it, around which is a little cultivation. Here the oaks are generally small, but there is an abundance of fine trees towards Lefkádha, in which direction the mountain of Plaghiá [2] intercepts the view to the Strait of *Leucas*, but admits a sight of the highest part of the island over it. The ridge to our left is continued as far as the western coast near Zavérdha, and rises in that interval to a lofty summit named Pergandí. Exactly in the spot where this view opens are some Hellenic foundations by the roadside, and some others in a neighbouring corn-field.

From hence to Vónitza the land is well cultivated with corn. Leaving on our right a monastery, beautifully situated below a grove of oaks on the side of the mountain, we descend into the plain, and crossing it diagonally, arrive at Vónitza [3] at 12.10. In the entrance of the town are the remains of a square redoubt and detached ravelin, which are recent works of the French.

The district of Vónitza extends 4 or 5 miles round the town, including the slopes of the moun-

[1] Properly τῆς Γελάδας,—the Cape of the Cow.

[2] Πλαγιάς.

[3] Βόνιτζα. In the Notitiæ Episcopatuum, written Βούνιτζα. The bishopric which is now extinct was in the ἐπαρχία of Naupactus.

tains on the eastern and western sides of the valley, and the valley itself in the direction of the Lake Vulkaría, nearly as far as Konidhári; a tjiftlík belonging to Alý Pashá, whose property now extends as far as the channel of Lefkádha, though in consequence of its exposure to the robbers, who take refuge in the islands, he derives little profit from it. Konidhári stands on a low ridge which connects the heights on the west of Vónitza with Mount Pergandí, and thus separates the plain of Vónitza from the Lake Vulkaría, as well as from another plain which reaches to the Bay of Zavérdha. Beyond the ridge, at the eastern extremity of the Vulkaría, are some thick woods, the abode of deer and wild hogs, and often the retreat of the robbers in those expeditions from the islands which have almost depopulated *Acarnania*.

The house in which I am lodged at Vónitza, that of the Greek primate Khalikiópulo, commonly called Logothéti, from his ecclesiastical office, stands on the shore, on the side of a strait about 200 yards in width, which communicates from the Bay of Vónitza to the Liméni, a shallow harbour which widens to half a mile, and is about two miles long.

Vónitza contains 450 houses, divided into three separate quarters: namely, Recinto, which lies on the south-west, and is so called as being inclosed within two walls which descend to the shore of the shallow harbour from the summit of a conical hill, crowned with a ruinous and ill-constructed Venetian castle; secondly, Borgo, which is a

suburb on the western side of the hill; and thirdly, Boccale, which is divided from Borgo by gardens, and stretches eastward along the shore of the Bay. The greater part of the houses of Vónitza are wretched cottages, constructed of mud and thatched. In Recinto are the ruins of a large church, having a Latin inscription over the door, placed there by the Venetians. A marshy tract extending towards the head of the liméni is occupied by gardens, and several private houses in an unhealthy situation. Immediately opposite to M. Logothéti's house, on the opposite or northern point of the harbour's mouth, is a small suburb consisting of a few houses upon the extreme point, together with a monastery prettily situated among olive trees. Both the monastery and suburb are known by the name of Myrtári.

Beyond Myrtári lies the great peninsula, formed by the Bay of Vónitza, the liméni of Vónitza, and the Gulf of Prévyza, and which terminates to the north-east in a high rocky point, separated from a similar cape by the strait which forms the entrance from the small ante-gulf of Prévyza into the main Gulf of Arta. The Bay of Vónitza is a very large semi-circular basin, opening into the gulf between the eastern side of the peninsula above-mentioned, and Cape Gheládha to the eastward. It is indented with several beautiful harbours, and has considerable depth quite to the shore of Vónitza. The commerce of this place consists chiefly in the exchange of grain, cattle, and firewood, for the articles of furniture and domestic use for which Greece is indebted to Europe,

or Constantinople. As to government, it is in the same condition with Prévyza and Parga. The treaty of 1800, which formed the Septinsular republic, assigned these Venetian dependencies to the Porte, on the condition that they were to be governed by their own municipal laws, and to be exempt from the kharátj, but to pay the land tax and customs to an officer appointed by the Porte to receive them. The Agá charged with this office has a guard of five or six men. He complains much of his solitary situation, without a single Turk to speak to, even the soldiers of the garrison being Christians. "But I serve," he says, "for the glory of my sovereign, and with the hopes of promotion." In the meantime, he is in great dread of offending Alý Pashá, whose design of obtaining complete possession of the Ex-Venetian places is sufficiently evident. The poor Agá has recently been much alarmed at the conduct of his principal at Prévyza, who has openly shown his suspicions of the Pashá by not waiting upon him when he was lately at Mýtika, on the borders of the district of Prévyza. Nor is he free from apprehensions from the chief Greeks at this place, whom he suspects of having been gained over by Alý to solicit his protection. Whatever may be the Pashá's designs, the Turk is totally unable to prevent them, and will find it very difficult, therefore, to avoid falling into disgrace with his own superiors. "If the Greeks of Vónitza," he observes, "abandon me, and I am left alone to oppose Alý's wishes, I am certainly a lost man." There seems to be too much reason for these fears,

for already those among the Greeks, who were inclined to support him and his cause against Alý, have thought it prudent to quit the place; and the opposite party, convinced of the inutility of resistance, have joined the Vezír in some mercantile speculations, by which all the advantage they are likely to gain, is that of being the last devoured. His Highness derives great assistance in his designs from the robbers, who furnish him with a constant pretext for having a body of troops in the Ex-Venetian territories. Soon after the Turkish resident's visit, he sends me a present of a lamb and some lemons, and—

June 20, this morning accompanies me to the castle which commands a fine view of the western part of the *Ambracic* Gulf, bounded by the hills of Suli and Ioánnina. The castle has a double inclosure, a ruined church on the summit, a good cistern, and a house built by Alý Pashá for the Albanian garrison, which he placed here after he had taken Vónitza from the French, and when he probably expected to have been left in quiet possession of it by the Porte. It is armed only with three small cannon on the southern side. The ruinous condition of the churches here, and in the Recinto, is said to have been caused by the Venetians having destroyed them to sell the materials when they evacuated the place.

The advantages of Vónitza are its fine bay for ships, its harbour at Myrtári for small vessels, its forests abounding in excellent timber and pasture for cattle; a fertile valley, an easy communication with Lefkádha, and a fortress in a position which

commands the access into Acarnania and Ætolia from Epirus by the way of Prévyza, and which would be of the greatest importance if the strong Pass of Makrinóro, the only entrance by land, were closed, and the water communication in the hands of the defenders of Acarnania. On the other hand, Vónitza, in common with the other places in the gulf, partakes of the inconvenience of the shallowness of the Strait of Prévyza, and which is the more sensibly felt as the exterior coast, for a great distance both to the north and south of the entrance, affords no secure anchorage. Dhémata, at the northern extremity of the Strait of Leucas, is the best; but the entrance is commanded by the Castle of Santa Maura. Another disadvantage of Vónitza is its deficiency of fresh water, which is supplied by a canal derived from a stream at some distance in the valley; nor is the place exempt from malaria in the summer and autumn, caused by the stagnant waters at the head of the harbour, as well as by the land breezes which blow from the marshes near the Lake of Vulkaría.

The land of Vónitza belongs chiefly to nobles of Zante, Cefalonia, and Corfú, who became possessed of it under the Venetian government, and whose cultivators send the proprietors a fourth of the produce, being themselves subject to all the expences, including the land tax paid to the Porte. The Greeks of Vónitza have lately cleared tracts of land on the hills, which they are sowing on their own account. In the woods around, they are allowed to cut firewood and plank, but not for exportation, the woods being the property of the Sultan, and no

persons being allowed to fell large timber without permission from the Porte.

In the plain, a mile and a half S.E. of the town, and three quarters of a mile from the sea, rises a small conical height, called Magúla, and behind it a similar one, but larger; both overgrown with bushes. On the summit of the smaller, a space of about three acres, now grown with corn, is surrounded by the remains of a Hellenic wall. On the northern side, the masonry is of the third order; and on the east there is a beautiful specimen of the fourth, or most regular kind. There is said to be another small castle of the same kind at Ruga, an inlet of the coast a little on this side of Nisí. The latter was probably a maritime dependency of a larger place, of which there are remains at Aio Vasíli, on the side of the mountain above it, three hours from Vónitza. I have searched in vain for any vestiges of antiquity in the Castle of Vónitza, or on any part of the hill, though the situation could hardly have been neglected by the ancients. In fact, ancient sepulchres are often found in the suburb of Boccale, and fragments in other places, sufficient to show that it was an ancient site.

June 21.—This morning, at 5.10, having sent my baggage off at midnight in a boat, I proceed by land from Vónitza to Prévyza, follow the southern shore of the shallow harbour until 5.30, then leaving the direct road, which continues along the harbour at the foot of the mountain, turn to the left, and in eighteen minutes gain a summit which commands a fine view of the great *Acarnanian* peninsula, lying to the westward of the bays of

Vónitza and Zavérdha. To the eastward of the isthmus, which, with the exception of the small ridge of Konidhári, is a level from the one bay to the other, rises the parallel mountain, of which the summit is named Pergandí. The middle of the peninsula is composed of low land, surrounding the lagoon of Vulkaría, and extending to Prévyza, and to the coast between it and Aía Mavra. All the southern part of the peninsula consists of a lofty mountain, on the slope of which, opposite to Lefkádha, stands the village Plaghiá, and at its southern extremity another named Bogoniá. Opposite to the latter, at the foot of the ridge of Pergandí, is Zavérdha. Both these places are at no great distance from the bay, which is usually named after the latter. The intermediate plain, and indeed the whole isthmus, is fertile, but little cultivated. The peninsula is for the most part a forest, which, especially on the southern and eastern side of the lagoon, and on the mountain of Plaghiá, abounds in large oaks well adapted to naval construction[1]. The lagoon, including the marshes on its edge, is four or five miles long, and as much broad. It communicates by a narrow stream with the head of Port Dhémata, on the southern side of which is the entrance of the canal of Lefkádha and the Castle of Aía Mavra.

At the south-eastern end of Vulkaría, on a height rising amidst thick woods, is the Paleó-

[1] In the woods near the lagoon, I observed, in 1809, many very fine oaks, taller and straighter than any I have seen in Greece; though perhaps as they grow in a marsh, the timber may not be so good as that of the hills. I remarked

kastro of Kekhropúla, so called from a small village no longer inhabited. To the left of Kekhropúla the view comprehends Meganisí, 'Atoko, and a part of Kálamo, the remainder of which is hid by the *Acarnanian* coast. To the northward are seen Paxú and the coast from Parga to Salaghóra, with all the northern side of the Gulf of Arta. Though it is difficult with confidence to adapt the names to the ancient positions in this part of Acarnania, there can be little doubt that the Vulkaría is the ancient Myrtuntium, being precisely as Strabo describes Myrtuntium [1], "a λιμνοθάλαττα, (or salt-water lagoon,) situated between Leucas and the Ambracic Gulf."

At 7.15, descending from the mountain, and leaving the extremity of the liméni of Vónitza on the right, as well as a road to 'Aghios Petros, a harbour on the shore of the Gulf of Prévyza, where are some vestiges of a Hellenic polis, probably Anactorium, we proceed through woods and bushes, and arrive, at 7.50, on the margin of a beautiful little fresh-water lake, named Linovrókhi [2], on one side of which is a hanging forest of oaks. A peasant here describes to me a subterraneous stream which emerges from a cavity in the forest, near the Lake of Vulkaría. The road continues through an uncultivated country over-

several stumps of the trees which had been cut down by Lasalle, and some trunks, which, after having been cut down, had not been removed. There is a thick underwood of bay, ilex, myrtle, paliuri, lentisk. In some places the wood consists entirely of ilex (ἀρειαὶς), but the trees are not large.

[1] Strabo, p. 459.

[2] Λινοβρόχι, literally a pond for soaking flax.

grown with thorns and shrubs, and at 8.40 emerges on the beach of the Gulf of Prévyza, where lies some ship timber, principally knees, ready cut and prepared for an armed vessel which Alý Pashá is about to build at Salaghóra. The builder calculates that it will pass the bar of Prévyza with the guns in, and have half a foot water to spare.

After following the beach for half a mile, we cross a low point for the most part covered with myrtle, at the northern extremity of the Strait of Prévyza, and at 9.10 arrive at the Tjiftlík of Punta. Here are a few fields of maize surrounding a quadrangular building, with towers at the angles, which contains the dwellings of the peasants who cultivate the fields and tend the flocks on this farm of Alý. Here also is a kula, or modern tower, and several remains of ancient buildings of Roman construction. At a projection to the southward of the tjiftlík, where the Strait is narrowest, and immediately opposite to the castle of Prévyza, the Vezír has constructed a serái and small fortress. There is every probability that the Roman ruins are remains of some of the buildings of Actium, established by Augustus, for the breadth of the Strait answers perfectly to the "less than 5 stades" of Polybius, or the "something more than four" of Strabo, or the "four" of Scylax, or the "500 Roman paces" of Pliny [1].

Punta, it is to be observed, is the Italian trans-

[1] Polyb. l. 4, c. 63. Strabo, p. 325. Κάσσωποι. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1. Scylax in

lation of Ἄκρη, or Ἄκρον, which is the Greek name of this promontory, though in consequence of Prévyza having so long been a Venetian dependency, the word Punta is very commonly used by the Greeks themselves. But Akri, as well as Punta, is nothing more than the modern representative of Ἀκτὴ, a word descriptive, like Akri, of such a peninsula as that opposite to Prévyza, and from which the Apollo here worshipped was surnamed Actius, and his temple Actium. Besides the authors who have just been cited, we may refer to Thucydides and to Dio[1], in proof of Akri being the site of Actium. Strabo alone has left an expression which is not easily reconciled with actual appearances, in saying that the temple stood on a height.

June 22.—Prévyza, or Prévesa[2], for it is now written in both ways in Greek, though the latter form is probably Italian, contained 2,000 families, when the French arrived in 1798, but has now not more than 1200. When the Venetians took it in 1684, there are said to have been only 70; the rapid increase after that time is easily accounted for, by the commercial advantages of the position, and by the importance of this place, as well as of Parga and Vutzintró, to the safety of Corfú and its canal, which induced the Venetian government not only to protect the people against their Musulman neighbours, but to be vigilant in preventing their own proveditori and other officers from indulg-

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 29. Dion. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

[2] Πρέβυζα, Πρέβεσα.

ing in their accustomed rapacity. The houses are dispersed over a large space, each having a garden or small plot of ground attached to it, containing fig, walnut, and apricot trees, with a few culinary herbs. But the greater part of the dwellings are wretched huts, made of wattled branches plastered with mud. All the best houses, some of which, built in the Venetian style, show the former opulence of the place, are now in ruins. Prévyza is still, however, one of the best towns in Greece, and has an agreeable appearance, from the abundance of gardens, and from the olive plantations which cover the peninsula beyond them. The low point on which the town stands enjoys the sea-breeze in summer in perfection, but the gulf wind at night, and early in the morning, is reckoned unwholesome; that the situation, however, is not so, generally speaking, the robust constitution of the men, and the good complexion of the women sufficiently indicate, notwithstanding, that the latter, besides performing all the household drudgery, labour in the fields during the harvest of corn and olives, while the men are employed in the fisheries of the gulf, or in the trade and coasting navigation of Epirus, Acarnania, and the islands, or in smoking their pipes in idleness at home. One of the severest labours of the women is that of carrying large jars of water on their heads from the fountains, which being at the extremity of a very straggling town, are a mile distant from some parts of it.

The water, which is excellent, rushes plentifully from the foot of a rocky cliff on the edge of the

sea beach. Wherever a channel is made in this place, a stream immediately issues, and it can hardly be doubted, that if the Prevyzans[1] were to dig wells, they would find water every where. The principal source is fitted up in the Turkish style.

Another employment of the women, but which is at once profitable and easy, is that of raising silkworms; they are now winding off the silk. The place produces annually 1500 pounds of raw silk, now sold at 10 piastres the pound. The grain of the territory, consisting of maize, wheat, barley, and oats, is about equal to the consumption of the place, sometimes insufficient, but sometimes so productive as to admit of the exchange of a portion of it for the wine of Lefkádha, or Thiáki. Of oil, which is of the best quality, superior even, according to the Prevyzans, to that of Corfú, or any other island, there is an annual average exportation of 10,000 tzukália, or jars, of seven litres each, besides the consumption of the place: the present price is two dollars the jar.

The Turkish Bey, or resident of the Sultán, receives the tithe on land, which is let every year to the Greeks in lots, and the maritime customs, which are four per cent. on exports, and two per cent. on imports, as under the Venetians. The Bey commands a garrison of thirty-six soldiers, but takes all his directions for the management of the police from the Greek magistrates, who still preserve the Maggior Consiglio and other Vene-

[1] *οἱ Πρεβυζάνοι*, or *Πρεβυζαῖοι*.

tian courts. The Consiglio consists of nobles, some of whom, as in the Seven Islands, may be found digging in their olive grounds. A body of forty of these elect the magistrates. Culprits are imprisoned on the requisition of the Proestós, and are tried by the proper tribunal, which, as under the Venetians, admits of an appeal to the primary court, at either of the two other ex-Venetian towns, Parga and Vónitza. The Prevyzans express themselves very grateful to Russia, whose consul takes care that no encroachments are made on these privileges, either by Alý Pashá or by the Bey. Hence, Prévyza at present is one of the happiest towns in Rumilí, though with such a neighbour as Alý there is no saying how long this condition may last. The territory extends only an hour's distance inland. Mýtika[1], and the further part of the ruins of *Nicopolis*, are in Alý Pashá's dominions: the nearer ruins, and the lagoon called Mázoma, belong to Prévyza. The situation in the entrance of this noble Gulf, surrounded by some of the most productive lands in Greece, at a point of ready communication with the islands and with Italy, would ensure to it some of those advantages which the same causes gave to its predecessor Nicopolis, if Greece were again to become a civilized country; though perhaps not to the same degree, in consequence of the shallow channel, less suited to modern than it was to ancient navigation. Nevertheless, it is probable that in

[1] Μύτικα—so called as standing on a cape; *μύτη*, nose, from the Hellenic *μύω*.

every age Patræ and Nicopolis will prove the wisdom of Augustus in selecting these two places for the Roman colonies of the western coast of Greece.

The soil of the peninsula is excellent. Barley is sown in November, wheat in December, and oats in January. Maize, as requiring plentiful irrigation, which is not to be obtained here, sometimes fails when the spring rains are not sufficiently abundant. It is generally grown among the plantations of young olives, is sown in April and reaped in August. The best oil is made from olives gathered by hand, though these do not yield half so much in quantity as the fruit which falls from the tree. It is not customary to sow under the full-grown olive-trees, which is common in many parts of Greece, oil being the most valuable production of Prévyza, and the opinion prevailing that the corn exhausts the soil and injures the crop of olives. Vines are supposed not to have the same effect, and are sometimes planted among the trees. Where no tillage occurs the grass is fed short, and the ground about the roots is opened. In many parts of the peninsula the land is covered with fern, which grows here rather too luxuriantly. It is cut down and put into holes at the roots of the trees, where some think it beneficial as manure, and the ground is then ploughed. One of the reasons for this treatment is to obviate accidents from fire in the summer, when the least spark among the dried vegetables, then abounding in uncultivated lands, creates a conflagration. Prévyza is said to have once

lost one-third of its trees in this manner; and a similar accident, though not so destructive, occurred when the Vezir's Albanians were here. These troops, when *en bivouac*, are in the habit of lighting fires, for the purpose, among others, *νὰ ζήσουν ταὶς φθείραις*, that operation which is the Albanian substitute for washing the shirt.

The hill of Mikhalitzi, at the foot of which are the ruins of Nicopolis, although now uncultivated on this side, bears the marks in its artificial terraces of a different state when it belonged to the monastery of Zálongo: the Vezir, having appropriated it to himself, has built a house and some labourers' cottages on the summit of the hill. His farmers furnish seed, cattle, labour, and farming utensils, and deliver to him the tenth of the gross produce as miri, and a third of the remainder. In new tjifthks, or those which are of uncertain tenure, such as many of his were during the Suliote war, he was generally contented with a fourth of the produce. When to this obligation is added the kharatj, and the demands of Albanian troops, there seldom remains more for the peasant than is necessary to support life upon maize, salt fish, cheese, and garlic.

The channel between Prévyza and Akri is not only shallow and narrow, but the entrance is rendered dangerous by a long sandy shoal, which projects southward from the cape of Prévyza, and leaves only a narrow passage of twelve feet in depth between it and another shoal on the *Acarnanian* shore. Towards the northern, or interior extremity of the strait, and immediately oppo-

site to the town, the strait widens, and forms the *harbour* of Prévyza. Half a mile beyond the springs, at the northern extremity of the town, is Vathý, a small bay, where the water is as deep as in the harbour of Prévyza, and where an armed brig of the Vezír, formerly an English sloop, is now lying. A creek branches from Vathý, which has a double termination; the western branch touches a part of the site of *Nicopolis*, and the eastern approaches the coast of the Gulf of Arta. On the shore of Vathý are ruins of the magazines of Lasalle, which formed a quadrangle and had two stories; the upper intended for grain, the lower for timber. In the inclosed court Lasalle built vessels on his own account, besides which he had a contract to deliver at the arsenal of Toulon, for five franks the cubic foot, oak timber, to be marked in the woods by persons appointed by the French government. He bargained with the Greeks or Albanians to bring the trees down to the waterside: the ambassador at the Porte procured permission from the Sultán, and Alý was paid forty or fifty purses yearly to cover his own claims as Dervént Agá, or for the Spahilík, where it existed. One year he extorted seventy purses from the French, on the pretence that he had received an order from the Porte to prevent the embarkation. Lasalle had the contract for five years, when it was renewed for five more; but at the end of two the French Revolution put an end to the contract, and an assassin to his life. The Suliotes brought a considerable quantity for him down the river of Luro. In the forest of Mánina, in *Acar-*

nania, the oaks are chiefly of the veláni kind, which is seldom so large as the common oak, nor is the timber so good. Those of Makrinóro, Suli, and Vónitza, are the best in this part of Greece. Djumérka produces some fine firs.

It is reckoned that near four hundred Prevyzan families gain a subsistence by the fisheries of their own town, or by those of Arta and *Acarnania*, which are now farmed from the Porte by Alý Pashá. In the territory of Prévyza, shell-fish, eels, and grey mullet, are caught—the two latter in the Mázoma, or lagoon of *Nicopolis*. Of shell-fish there is an inexhaustible supply in the shallows around the strait and near the town; a great quantity of these is sent to the islands in the time of Lent. Occasionally also an immense number of eels from the lagoons of Arta, suddenly make their appearance in the harbour of Prévyza. This happens always in tempestuous weather, and probably occurs only when in migrating to the sea from their breeding-places in the rivers and lagoons of the Gulf, they meet with a storm in passing out of the strait, which drives them back upon Prévyza. The fisheries of Arta and *Acarnania* are conducted by the more opulent Prevyzans, who form societies, each of which hires a share of the fishery, and employs Prevyzan labourers, for whom they find nets and other necessaries. While the sale of fish is going forward, the money is laid by in a common purse, which, when the mukátesi has been paid, is equally divided between the merchants and the fishermen. This, and other modes of giving an interest in profits to all the individuals

employed in any speculation, are common in the mercantile and even in the agricultural undertakings of the Greeks. The greater part of the maritime commerce and carrying trade is managed upon the same principle; and it often happens that every sailor is in part owner of the ship as well as of the cargo.

Such customs are at once an effect and a support of the republican spirit which it is curious to find pervading a people subject to such a despot as the Sultán. In its origin it is to be attributed to the geographical construction of the country, naturally dividing the people into communities, which have little dependence upon one another; its preservation since the conquest may be attributed, in great measure, to the bigotry, and exclusiveness of the Turkish system, which, neither admits the Christians to the rights of the governing people, nor interferes with the internal arrangements of the communities, unless by the effects of its universal oppression. It cannot be denied, that the Greek method of conducting affairs stimulates mental and bodily exertion, but it promotes also that undisciplined, intractable, envious, and contentious spirit, which is sure to break out whenever this people has sufficient liberty to display it.

Greek customs prevail at Prévyza in all their force, as in other places where by any accident the people enjoy a considerable degree of independence; among others, they observe strictly the forbidden degrees in regard to marriage;—cannot take a wife more than three times;—the priests

more than once. Cousins cannot marry nearer than the seventh degree, nor can the god-son be united to the daughter of his god-father. This is a part of the custom of Κουμπαρία, which gives an alliance equal to relationship by blood to two men of different families who have been sponsors to the same child at the baptismal font. The Greek word formed from the Italian *compare*, and originally from the Latin *compater*, shows the origin of the custom. It may be doubted whether it gives the Greeks any advantages against their great enemy the Turk, and rather seems to be a proof only of barbarism and insecurity, and both cause and effect of their spirit of hostility and rivalship.

Mr. North[1] gave five hundred piastres towards the establishment of a school, by means of which and other donations a small house was built at the gate of the principal church. It has since been converted into a court of justice; but there is a school in which writing is taught, with a sufficiency of ancient Greek to read the Testament.

Many of the women of Suli have taken refuge at Prévyza, since the capture of their mountain by Alý, and are employed as servants. Α Σουλιώτισσα, or Suliote girl, ten years of age, in the Vice-Consul's family, has hired herself for twenty years, at the end of which she is to have one hundred and fifty piastres for a marriage portion.

Of the three other ex-Venetian places given up to the Porte, under conditions, by the treaty of 1800, we have seen the state to which Vónitza is

[1] Afterwards Earl of Guildford.

now reduced. Parga is protected from Alý at present by a resident agent of the Porte, under whom the people enjoy their old municipal government unchanged. Vutzintró is entirely in the hands of Alý. At the instigation of the Russians, the Porte has sent the Pashá repeated orders for its evacuation; but he avoids them, affecting to believe that the Russians mean to make use of the place for the purpose of their designs against himself and the empire. He moreover alleges that he has purchased the farm of the fisheries from the Sultán for three years, and that he has not yet been paid his expenses in expelling the French.

June 24.—Strabo, who wrote soon after the foundation of Nicopolis, has thus described it[1]: "Beyond port Glycys are two other harbours; the first and smaller is Comarus, which at Nicopolis the city founded by Augustus Cæsar is separated by an isthmus of sixty stades from the Ambracic Gulf: the farther, and larger, and better port, is near the mouth of the gulf, about twelve stades distant from Nicopolis. * * * Augustus founded this place because he saw that the neighbouring cities were much depopulated[2]; and he gave it

[1] Strabo, p. 324, 325.

[2] The cities which chiefly contributed to people Nicopolis were Ambracia, Thyrium, Anactorium, Argos Amphilochicum, and Calydon. The last is named by Pausanias, the others in the following epigram of Antipater:

Λευκάδος ἀντί με Καῖσαρ ἰδ' Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου
Θυρρείου τε πέλειν, ἀντί τ' Ἀνακτορίου,
Ἄργεος Ἀμφιλόχου τε καὶ ὅππυσα ῥαίσατο κύκλῳ
Ἄστε' ἐπιθρώσκων δουριμανὴς πόλεμος,

the name of Nicopolis in honour of the naval victory which he gained before the mouth of the gulf over Antony and Cleopatra, who was herself present. A sacred inclosure[1] for the use of the quinquennial contest has been constructed in the suburb[2] in a grove[3] containing a gymnasium and stadium; there is another sanctuary on the sacred hill of Apollo, which rises above the grove. The Lacedæmonians have the superintendence[4] of the games which are named Actia, as being sacred to Apollo Actius, and which have been declared Olympian. All the surrounding towns are now subordinate to Nicopolis."

The ruins of Nicopolis are now called Paleoprévyza. The road thither leads for two miles through the olive plantations and vineyards, which occupy all the south-western part of the peninsula of Prévyza, and for another mile over a shrubby uncultivated plain. The first ruins that occur are some small arched buildings of brick, probably sepulchral; a little beyond which are the remains of a strong wall following the crest of a height which falls to the lagoon called Mázoma. The situation and direction of this wall, and the position of the sepulchres on the outside of it, seem to show that it was a part of the southern inclosure of the city. The Mázoma, which occupies about half the

Εἴσατο Νικόπολιν θείην πόλιν, ἀντί τε νίκης
Φοῖβος ἄναξ ταύτην δείκνυται Ἀκτιάδος.
Antipatri Epigr. 33. Anthol. Jacobs.

[1] τέμενος.
[2] ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ.
[3] ἄλσει.
[4] ἐπιμέλειαν.

breadth of the isthmus, is separated only from the Gulf of Arta by a narrow ῥάμμα, or thread of land, which is a mile long and one hundred yards wide, and has two openings, where the fish are caught in great numbers as they enter the lagoon in the winter, and quit it in the summer. At the southern extremity of the narrow bank stands a tower, from whence, following the southern shore of the Mázoma, we arrive at a church of the Ἀνάληψις, or Ascension; two or three hundred yards beyond which are the ruins called the Paleókastro.

A. Paleókastro.
B. Theatre and Stadium.
C. Small theatre.
1. 1. Springs of water.
2. Metropolis.
3. Great gate.
4. Palace.
5. 5. Strong walls.
6. Bath.

This is an extensive inclosure of irregular form[1], flanked with towers, and composed in great part of the materials of former ruins: courses of large squared blocks of stone, which seem to have belonged to Hellenic walls, alternate with thick strata of Roman tiles cemented with an abundance of mortar. The western side of the inclosure is the most perfect, and here was the principal gate, situated near the south-western angle between two semi-circular towers. The other towers are quadrangular. All of them internally have flights of steps supported upon arches, for the purpose of ascending to battlements on the summit of the walls.

Although these works are lofty and solid, they do not resemble those of the Augustan age; indeed the variety of marble fragments, and even remains of inscriptions, of the time of the Roman empire[2], inserted in the masonry, prove the whole to have been a repair, though upon the exact site perhaps of the original citadel, and restored so as to form an inclosure sufficiently large for the diminished population of the place. It may not improbably be the work of Justinian, who, we know from Procopius, repaired Nicopolis[3]. A cross over a small gate called ἡ πόρτα Ἀραάβη seems cotemporary with

[1] I cannot answer for the correctness of the shape as delineated in the sketch.

[2] The following is one of the fragments:

. . . τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μητρὶ Αἰλίᾳ Ἀλε . . . .
καὶ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ θυγατρὶ Κλ . . . .

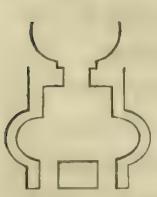
[3] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 1.

the rest of the work. In the middle of the Paleókastro is a pool of fresh water now called Vaiéni[1], which appears to have been covered with a large arched building. A rivulet issues from it, and is consumed in some adjacent gardens. Not far from the spring to the north-west, a ruined building, called the Metropolis, is supposed to have been the episcopal church of the extinct see of Nicopolis. If so, it may be the oldest church in Greece, for the intention of St. Paul to winter here, expressed in his letter to Titus, would seem to indicate that he had a congregation at Nicopolis. Leaving the Paleókastro by the great gate, and proceeding in the direction of Mýtika, where stands upon a cape of the western coast a small village of that name and a serái of the Vezír, the first remarkable object that occurs is a theatre, so overgrown with vegetation in the lower part that it is not easily examined. It appears to be about 200 feet in diameter: 15 or 20 rows of seats and the proscenium still remain. Being built on level ground, the back or highest part is entirely supported upon an arched corridor, 18 feet high, and 8 feet 6 inches wide, lighted by openings in the wall which slope outwards, and supporting the entire superstructure, which contains the seats, formed of tiles and mortar. The building is now called the Skotiní[2], from its dark passages. The next ruins towards Mýtika is named Bughi[3], and seems to have been a palace, as it has numerous apartments with many niches in the walls for statues, and some remains of a

[1] Βαγιένη. [2] Σκοτινή. [3] Μπούγη.

stone pavement. It stands just within an aqueduct supported upon arches, which enters the valley of Nicopolis on the western side of the hill of Mikhalítzi, and may be traced beyond the Skotiní: in most parts the piers alone remain. Between the aqueduct and Mýtika are remains of a building similar to that within the aqueduct, but of a more regular plan, and of smaller dimensions.

On the side of the last falls of the hill of Mikhalítzi stands the greater theatre, sufficiently elevated above the other remains of Nicopolis to be a very conspicuous object. In approaching it from Bughi, the remains of a solid wall occur, resembling that above the Análipsis, and which seems, when complete, to have stretched across the isthmus from the north-western angle of the fortress. Beyond it is a second source of water, which, with that in the Paleókastro, would seem to have been sufficient, by the aid of wells, for the supply of the city; but here, as at Corinth, another Roman colony, where local springs are still more abundant, the colonists were not satisfied with the water, either because it lay too low, or did not suit their taste, and constructed an aqueduct thirty miles in length. Near the fountain are the ruins of a building called Kalpetzáki, of the annexed form, and probably a bath. It stands on the lowest and narrowest part of the isthmus. A little above it are some other remains on the foot of Mount Mikhalítzi, from whence the stones of a pavement, and a statue of white marble, are said to have been transported lately to Prévyza. Both these and the



baths belonged perhaps to the gymnasium; for the gymnasium, according to Strabo, was near the stadium[1], and the remains of the stadium occur immediately above the last-mentioned ruin, in a north-eastern direction, having its eastern extremity situated just below the south-western angle of the great theatre.

The stadium, by the peasants called τὸ Καράβι, (the ship) is circular at both ends, unlike all the other stadia of Greece, but similar to several in Asia Minor, which have been constructed or repaired by the Romans. The length of the course, however, seems to have been the same as in the other stadia of Greece, namely, 600 Greek feet; for I measured 670 feet in the clear between the two curved extremities of the seats, which are now mere ruins overgrown with bushes. In winter the inclosed space is a pool of water. The ruins of the seats occupy a breadth of about 75 feet, but the total length of the construction was probably not more than 750 feet; underneath the seats are a range of arched chambers, intended apparently for no other purpose than to diminish the mass of masonry.

The great theatre was partly excavated in the side of the hill; but all the superstructure, with the appurtenances of the scene, and a vomitory on either side of the stage, was constructed of large flat Roman bricks, united with a great quantity of mortar, and was faced with stone. Although the corridor above the cavea has fallen in, and the stone

[1] Strabo, p. 325.

seats have been removed, it is still one of the best preserved Roman theatres in existence, and well deserves to be accurately measured and delineated by an architect. The total diameter is about 300 feet, but the earth, which has been washed from the superincumbent hill during the fourteen centuries which have elapsed since the decease of Pagan civilization, renders an exact measurement unattainable without excavation; in the present season a dense vegetation is a farther impediment, and, in particular, a forest of gigantic thistles, now in the full strength of their growth, mixed with other plants, which are equally troublesome from being already pulverized by the heat, especially the Sfaka, or Verbascum, which at the least touch throws out a cloud of acrid dust. The scene had three doors and a large square apartment at either end, but the stone door-cases not having been spared any more than the seats of the cavea, the building is deprived of all its external decoration, and the inferiority of the Roman brick and mortar to the beauty and solidity of Greek masonry is shown in all its nakedness. The scene is 120 feet long, and 30 in depth. It was decorated with a range of statues of deities facing the cavea, as appears by some blocks below, on which are remains of the names of Venus and Minerva: ΑΦΡΩ, —ΘΗΝΑΙ. From the back of the theatre, the hill of Mikhalítzi rises steeply to the summit, which is about 500 feet above the theatre.

As Strabo describes the sacred grove, stadium and gymnasium, to have been in the προάστειον, or suburb, it is probable that the wall to the south-

ward of Kalpetzáki was a part of the inclosure of the city on the northern side. Of the two τεμένη, or sanctuaries, the ἄλσος, or sacred grove, in which the Actia were celebrated, is sufficiently identified by the theatre and stadium, the former for the use of the music, the latter for that of the gymnastic contests. The second temenus, which was above the former, on the mountain of Apollo, is shown by Dio to have been exactly on the summit of the hill, where Mikhalítzi now stands. The historian relates that Octavianus, on arriving, previously to the battle of Actium, at the place[1] where Nicopolis afterwards stood, encamped upon a height[2], from whence he could see both the Ambracic Gulf and the outer sea towards Paxi, as well as the ports before Nicopolis; he not only fortified the camp, but built walls from it to the outer port, Comarus; and after the battle, having surrounded the place where his tent was pitched[3] with squared stones, he adorned it with the beaks of the captured ships, and built within the inclosure a sanctuary of Apollo, open to the sky[4]. Such a view as Dio here describes, Augustus could not have obtained from the isthmus of Nicopolis, or from any spot in the immediate vicinity, except Mikhalítzi,

[1] χωρίον.

[2] ἐπὶ μετεώρου.—Dion. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

[3] ἐν ᾧ ἐσκήνησε.—Id. 51, c. 1.

[4] ἕδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον ἱδρυσάμενος. According to Suetonius, he consecrated the place to Neptune and Mars: "Ampliato vetere Apollinis templo locum castrorum quibus fuerit usus exornatum navalibus spoliis Neptuno et Marti consecravit." —Sueton. in Aug.

from whence all the objects stated may be seen. The tent of Augustus therefore was placed on the summit of the mountain, his camp occupying the slope and the foot of the hill, from whence the communication with the port Comarus was probably secured from interruption by μακρὰ τείχη, or parallel walls, which comprehended the harbour between their extremities.

Although the words of Strabo, combined with the extant stadium, show that it was at Nicopolis, and not at Actium, that the games called Actia were held during the long period of their celebration, there is reason to believe from Dio, that until the city was completed, and the buildings for the use of the games constructed, the meeting took place at Actium, where a στεφανίτης ἀγών, or contest for a crown, had long been instituted by the surrounding cities[1]. This ancient celebration was converted by Augustus, immediately after the victory, and at the same time that he enlarged the Temple of Apollo Actius, into an exhibition of music and gymnastic rivalship, accompanied with horse-races, and was declared a sacred contest[2]; by which it was made equal in dignity to the four great games of Greece, and was accompanied by a sacrifice and festival, at which the hieronicæ were entertained at the public expence[3]. Dio expressly adds, that it was not until some time afterward that Nicopolis was colonized and completed, and that the hypæthrium

[1] Strabo, p. 325.

[2] ἱερὸς ἀγών.

[3] Dion. Cass. l. 51, c. 1.

was constructed on the site of the tent of Augustus. Here, besides other dedications, were placed the brazen statues of an ass and his driver, in commemoration of a favourable omen, which had probably been prepared for the occasion on the morning of the battle[1]. On the foundation of Constantinople these statues were removed to the hippodrome of that city, where in 1204 they fell into the hands of the barbarous Latins, who melted them with many other monuments of Grecian art still more valuable[2].

It is remarkable that the wide bay lying between Mýtika and Kastroskiá is now called Gómaro; Comarus, however, which Dio agrees with Strabo in showing to be the harbour of Nicopolis in the exterior sea[3], was certainly not such a gulf as that to which the modern name is attached, but a port such as the ancients used, whence it was probably that of Mýtika. The port which Strabo describes

[1] Plutarch. in Anton. A peasant driving an ass, met Octavianus as he came out of his tent at daybreak, and being asked his name, replied, "Eutyches;" and your ass's name? "Nicon."

[2] Nicet. ap. Banduri Imp. Orient. vol. i. p. 93.

[3] *τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον.* Dio. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

Μετὰ δὲ Γλυκὺν λιμένα ἐφεξῆς εἰσι δύο ἄλλοι λιμένες, ὁ μὲν ἐγγυτέρω καὶ ἐλάττων Κόμαρος ἰσθμὸν ποιῶν ἑξήκοντα σταδίων πρὸς τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν κόλπον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σεβάστου Καίσαρος κτίσμα τὴν Νικόπολιν· ὁ δὲ ἀπωτέρω καὶ μείζων καὶ ἀμείνων πλησίον τοῦ στόματος τοῦ κόλπου διέχων τῆς Νικοπόλεως ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου· τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ μὲν στόμα μικρῷ τοῦ τετρασταδίου μεῖζον.—Strabo, p. 324, 325.

as the greater, would seem by the order of his text, to have been between Comarus and the strait of Prévyza, and consequently on the outside of the gulf; but the nature of the western coast of the Peninsula shows that he cannot have expressed himself accurately. It is evident from Dio, who distinguishes Comarus as the *outer* port of Nicopolis, that the second harbour intended by Strabo was within the gulf. Here, in fact, his distance of 12 stades corresponds perfectly to Vathý, where some Roman ruins a little within and on the eastern shore of the creek, seem to indicate the exact situation of the λιμήν. These ruins consist of two square masses from 20 to 30 feet the side, with a third ruin, 48 feet in length, having a curved extremity. The walls are formed of strata of Roman tiles between masses of rough stones and mortar, and in some places subsist to the height of 12 or 15 feet.

The breadth of 60 stades, which Strabo ascribes to the isthmus of Nicopolis, is obviously incorrect; the broadest part of the site from the tower of the Mázoma to Mýtika not being more than three miles. An opinion prevails at Prévyza, founded I believe on a supposed measurement by the French, when they entrenched the isthmus, that the shortest line from the Mázoma to the Gulf of Gómaro is no more than 800 ὀργυιαὶς, or 4000 Greek feet. I cannot conceive, however, that it is less than 2000 yards in the narrowest part. After having measured the stadium, which is not exactly on the isthmus, it appeared to me, from a rising ground, that there

is a distance equal to two stadia between the end of that monument and the Mázoma, four between the other end of the stadium and the aqueduct, and three more to the sea.

The great quantity of fish taken by the Prevyzans in the Mázoma, and neighbouring sea, illustrates the remark of an anonymous geographer of the fourth century[1], who says that fish was so plentiful at Nicopolis as to be almost disgusting. Most of the other towns near the gulf having been abandoned, the Nicopolites probably had all the fisheries in their hands.

Nicopolis was considered the capital of Southern Epirus and Acarnania during the three first centuries of the Roman Empire; but before the close of this period, it had so far declined as to cease to strike its own money, of which there exist great numbers in copper, either autonomous[2] or of the emperors prior to Galerian. The coins of this prince and his wife Salonina are the latest. The ruin of paganism, by depriving the Actian games of their importance, was the first great blow inflicted upon the prosperity of Nicopolis. Julian restored both its edifices and its games; but the effect was momentary, and the decline of the imperial authority at sea having been followed by piracy, the inevitable consequence in the Grecian seas of the want of a controlling naval power, Nicopolis lost the maritime commerce which had been its

[1] Ap. Geogr. Minor. vol. iii.

[2] The Nicopolites were proud of their freedom. Epictetus, who retired to Nicopolis in consequence of Domitian's persecution of the philosophers—(Aul. Gell. l. 15, c. 11. —Suidas in 'Επίκτητος)—men-

main support. At the beginning of the fifth century, the Goths of Alaric retreating before Stilico in the Peloponnesus, spread desolation over Epirus, and soon afterwards the Huns of Totila ravaged this coast, on which occasion Nicopolis particularly suffered [1]. It was chiefly perhaps on these occasions that its buildings sustained the injuries which called for the repairs bestowed upon the city by Justinian. It continued to be the capital of southern Epirus, either as the chief town of a ducal province [2], according to the arrangement of the earlier ages of the Byzantine Empire, or as that of a Theme in the tenth century [3]. Cedrenus relates, that in the eleventh century all the Theme of Nicopolis, except Naupactus, joined a revolt of the Bulgarians against the Emperor Michael the Paphlagonian, which had been caused by the extortion of his lieutenant, John Cutzomytes (wry-nose) [4]. The name of Nicopolis occurs also in the history of Venice, in reference to the transactions following the capture of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204: and from Nicetas we learn that the territory of Nicopolis [5] was a part of the dominions which then became the Despotate of the West, under Michael Angelus Com-

tions a saying of theirs: Νὴ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην ἐλεύθεροί ἐσμεν.—Epict. ab Arrian. l. 4, c. 1.

[1] Also Anchiasmus (the Forty Saints.) Procop. de bello Goth. l. 4, c. 22.

[2] ἐπαρχία ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα.—Hierocl. p. 651. Wessel.

[3] Constantin. Porphyrog. de Them.

[4] Cedren. p. 747. ed. Paris.

[5] τὰ τῇ Νικοπόλει προσοριζόμενα.—Nicet. Ann. Balduin. p. 460. Paris.

nenus. But the town had long been reduced to misery, if we may trust to ecclesiastical history, which, during the Byzantine empire, furnishes the best indication of the relative importance of places. Although Nicopolis was still a bishop's see at the end of the ninth century, and had then been recently transferred from the patriarchy of Rome to that of Constantinople, the ravages of the Bulgarians, fifty years afterwards, put an end to the bishopric, the last prelate having then been removed to Ancyra in Asia [1]. Ioánnina, which was already a bishopric under the metropolitan of Naupactus then succeeded to Nicopolis as the seat of ecclesiastical authority in the south of Epirus, and was raised to the dignity of a metropolis in the thirteenth century; about a century before which Arta became a bishopric of Naupactus. When the imperial name was no longer a protection to the distant subjects of the empire, it was natural that Ambracia and other ancient sites near the Gulf, which Nicopolis had depopulated under the first emperors of Rome, should again become preferable from the same motives of security which had caused them to be occupied by the early Greeks. The new town of Prévyza, built nearer to the Nicopolitan harbours than the ancient city, in a more defensible position, in a more fertile part of the plain, and where water was equally plentiful, then absorbed probably all the remaining inhabitants of the old city.

June 25.—A north-westerly breeze carries me

[1] Nicephor. Constant. l. 14, c. 39.

this afternoon, in an hour and a half, to Salaghóra [1], the port of Arta. Just beyond the strait which separates the Gulf of Prévyza from that of Arta, are two small islands: that to the left named Gaidharonísi, that to the right Kefaló [2]. These, and the other islands in the Gulf, like all the desert grounds in Greece, are clothed with a luxuriant vegetation in the spring, when they furnish pasture for cattle. Between Gaidharonísi and the neighbouring cape of the peninsula of Skafidháki, we found one of Alý Pashá's gun-boats lying, a small vessel with two little guns in the bow. He has two or three of these in the Gulf, and at Salaghóra a new brig corvette. When he lately visited Salaghóra he ordered the shrubs to be cleared away, and a town to be laid out; but only five or six magazines have been built, with a chamber for the collector of the customs at the foot of a rocky height which here projects from the northern shore of the Gulf. The hill seems formerly to have been an island, being almost surrounded by the sea to the south, where the depth of water is more than sufficient for any ship capable of crossing the bar of

[1] Σαλαγώρα.

[2] In a subsequent journey I landed on Kefaló, which is opposite to Vónitza, and found there the remains of a large building of the Lower Empire, probably a monastery, from which Mr. K., of Vónitza, had removed an Ionic capital and pilaster of the taste of those times to his house at Vónitza. The same gentleman informed me that he had used the island, which is his property, for raising poultry; but was obliged to give up the practice from the difficulty of communicating with the island in the winter, on account of continued gales of wind.

Prévyza, and by shallow lagoons to the north, the connexion with the main land being by means of three narrow low banks branching from it to the east, the west, and the north : the two former of these are mere threads of land, such as generally separate lagoons from the sea ; the last is wider, but so low as often to be inundated ; a causeway, which even in this season is washed by the water of the lagoon, forms the only road into the plain of Arta. The summit of the hill of Salaghóra commands an excellent view of the Gulf. In the rámmata, which separate the lagoons from the sea, are seen the openings where the fish are caught, as at the Mázoma of Prévyza, and where are houses for the use of the fishery. The *thread* to the east joins at the end of three miles a woody peninsula projecting into the Gulf, on which is a metókhi of the Panaghía, and off it three or four small islands connected together by mud-banks, and called the Korakonísia : midway to the Acarnanian shore, is Vuvála, the largest island in the Gulf. Beyond the peninsula of Panaghía the ramma is continued two or three miles farther eastward, to Paleá-Bukka: so called from the belief that here was anciently the mouth of the river of Arta, now three miles to the eastward, which is not devoid of probability, as in almost every instance of an increase of land at the mouth of rivers, their lower course has assumed a new direction. Near the eastern side of the muddy and shallow bay of Paleá-Bukka, is an island in the lagoon, covered with the ruins of a castle called Fidhókastro[1] (Ser-

[1] *Φιδό-καστρον.*

pent-castle), built of small stones and mortar, mixed with Hellenic work towards the foundations. The lagoon on the western side of Salaghóra, which extends to the river of Luro, is named Tzukália, that to the eastward Logarú.

June 26.—Quitting Salaghóra for Arta this morning at 5.45, we pass round the western end of the hill, and follow the causeway for half a mile across the lagoon; then enter upon the plain which, though now dry, is so marshy during the greater part of the year, as to be left uncultivated. But we soon arrive upon a somewhat higher level, where are a few fields of corn among desert tracts covered with camomile; pass through Anázi and Postikiús, both villages belonging to Mukhtár Pashá, the latter at 7.35, and from thence pass through a continuance of tillage as far as Arta. At 8.15 we cross the river of Arta, which is here about 200 yards wide—deep, winding, and rapid—by a handsome bridge, said to have been built by one of the Palæologi. From thence, having traversed gardens and scattered houses, we pass close to the left of the ruined church of Pariorítza, properly Parigorítissa[1], at 8.20, leave the castle of Arta on the right at 8.28, and at 8.30 arrive at the Metropolis[2]. The baggage was three hours and three quarters on the road.

The bishop Ignatius receives me with great po-

[1] Παρηγορίτισσα (Consolatrix), applied to the Panaghía.

[2] ἡ Μητρόπολις is the name usually given in Greece to the episcopal church and bishop's house, both which are generally within a common inclosure. Ἐπισκοπὴ is the word applied to the church and house of a suffragan bishop.

liteness; he is a prelate of a most prepossessing person and address, well informed and sensible in his conversation, but spoiled by his situation, which, instead of allowing him to cultivate his mind, or to enjoy that civilized society of which he is naturally formed to be an ornament, places him in a perpetual state of fear for his own safety, and reduces him, against his inclination and conscience, to execute the cruel orders of a selfish unprincipled tyrant. While another Greek is the Pashá's agent for the management of the police and finances of the town and district of Arta, the bishop superintends the more important political concerns of all the surrounding country; and when the Pashá has occasion to send a mission to the Septinsular republic or elsewhere, Ignatius is the person generally employed. At Salaghóra his signature was affixed to the tariff of imports in the custom-house. At home he assumes a considerable degree of oriental grandeur, more perhaps than any Musulman can venture upon in the Vezír's dominions. Were it not for the absence of all arms, of which the Turks delight in making a display, and the plain monastic habit which is in contrast to the showy dresses of the Ottomans, the Metropolitan palace might be mistaken for the house of a rich Agá.

The Vezír encourages these appearances of authority in the Greek prelates, as it assists them in the exactions and political objects of which they are the instruments, without saving them from the occasional demands which none of his subjects, but especially the more opulent, ever escape. Thus circumstanced, it is not very surprising that bishop

Ignatius should be better acquainted with modern politics than with the ancient history and geography of Greece, upon which subjects he is satisfied with the opinions, often erroneous, received among his countrymen, who seldom give themselves the trouble of referring to the original sources of information. Meletius, one of the predecessors of Ignatius in the see of Arta, whose judgment was not equal to his diligence and learning, has been a great cause of the prevalence and permanence of these errors, as the Greeks seldom or ever venture to dispute his authority.

In the evening the ἅγιος Ἀρτενὸς, or Artinian Holy (such is the most polite mode of naming a bishop), accompanies me in a ride round the town. We proceed first to the church of Parigorítissa, a lofty building constructed chiefly of brick, nearly cubical on the outside, but within surrounded with vestibules and galleries, so as to leave in the middle a katholikó, which is more than twice as high as it is square at bottom, and is surmounted by a dome around which are six smaller domes over the aisles. The following is an inscription in two lines round the semi-circular arch of the great door of the church in the inside[1]:—

ΚΟΜΗΝΟΔΥΚΑϹ ΔΕϹΠΟΤΗϹ ××××ΚΩΠΟ..... ΛΟΥ ΚΑϹΔΕϹ ΠΟΤΗϹ ΚΑΙΙΓΕ

ΚΟΜΗΝΟΒΛΑϹΙΟϹΑΡΤΙΕ ΠΟΛ .....ΜΕΓΑϹΚΟ ΜΗΝΟϹΔΥΚΑ

The bishop states, that the church was built by the Comnenus Ducas here recorded, that his name

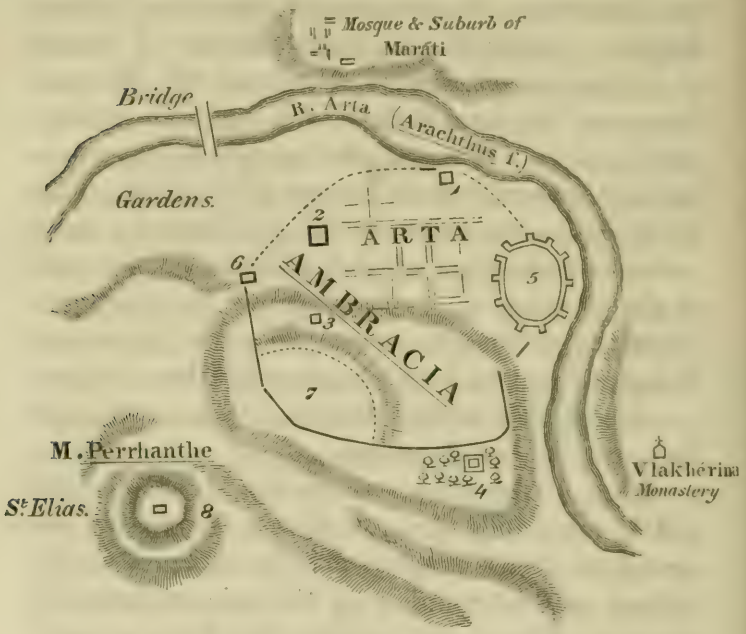
[1] The parts underlined only are on the original stone: the remainder are on a coat of plaister, which has fallen away in the middle, where the dots are.

was Michael, and that in two MSS., one of which is preserved in Lefkádha, the other in the convent of Myrtári at Vónitza, he is entituled Despot of Arta, Count of Leucas, and Duke of Cephalonia and Zacynthus. He was probably the same Michael Angelus Comnenus who, under the title of Despot of Ætolia, or of Epirus, governed all Western Greece at the time of the Frank conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and who appears to have been the most powerful of the despots of the West. This would make the date of the building not long posterior to the time when Arta became a bishopric of the province of Naupactus. In the sixteenth century it was made a metropolis, and the see of Naupactus having been transferred hither, the prelate received the title of Bishop of Naupactus and Arta, which he still retains.

From Parigorítissa we ascended the height which commands Arta to the eastward, and returned to the Metropolis by the modern castle, visiting several remains of Hellenic antiquity in the way. Though not considerable, they are sufficient to show that Arta was the site of a very large Greek city. Towards the north and west it was half encompassed by the river which issues from an opening at no great distance to the north-eastward between Mount Gelberíni[1], a high rocky summit, which rises in face of the town to the northward, and the hill of Peta, a village standing on the last falls of a range of mountains, which follows the left bank of the river of Arta almost to

[1] Κελπερήνη.

its sources. Beyond Peta, southward, the hills border the plain of Arta as far as Makrinóro, which is a continuation of them terminating abruptly in the gulf.



1. The Metropolis. 2. Church of Parigorítissa. 3. Ruined windmill. 4. Monastery of Fanaroméni. 5. Modern castle. 6. Church of Odhighítria. 7. Ancient Acropolis. 8. Hill commanding that of the ancient Acropolis.

*** The dotted line shows the ancient walls where the foundations only remain. The entire line, where the remains are more considerable.

The height on the eastern side of the town is the extremity of a long rocky hill, which is embraced by the river on its northern and western sides, and falls to the plain on the two others. Some foundations of an Acropolis are traceable on the summit,

from whence the town wall descended in a northerly direction, so as to exclude a monastery dedicated to 'the Virgin brought to light[1],' and from thence to a projection of the height which here overhangs the river. It then followed a direction parallel to the river towards the modern castle, where in one place the Hellenic wall forms part of some cottages, otherwise of the slightest and rudest construction, and which remind me of the Egyptian huts standing on the ruins of Luxor or Edfu. Beyond these the ancient wall is again seen in the lower part of the structure of the castle towards the river, and here it is most remarkable, consisting of courses nearly regular, and not less remarkable for the close and finished junction of the stones, than for their magnitude. These are in general quadrangular, but some are sloping at one end; the two or three lowest courses which are narrower than the others, and project beyond the rest of the wall, as often occurs in Hellenic masonry of the best times, are founded on the excavated rock. One of the stones, which rest on the uppermost narrow course, is 16 feet long and 4 high; another is 12 feet by 6. A little beyond the castle occurs the excavated foundation of another enormous wall parallel to the former, and indicating apparently, that the modern fortress occupies the site of a second ancient citadel. The town wall may again be seen supporting the terrace of the bishop's garden overhanging the river, beyond which some smaller vestiges may be traced as far as the church

[1] Παναγία φανερωμένη.

of Parigorítissa, beyond which, at the foot of the hill behind the church of Odhighítria[1], the foundations are again visible ascending the hill directly to the acropolis. Squared blocks formerly belonging to the walls or public buildings of the city, are to be seen in every part of the modern town, where they are often used as benches, steps, or mounting blocks at the doors of the houses.

The traces of power and opulence evident in these remains, seem scarcely to leave a question that Arta stands on the site of Ambracia, though neither bishop Ignatius assents to this opinion, nor his physician, Dr. M., of Katúna, a learned and well-informed man. But the presumption derived from the existing vestiges, from the fertile and extensive plain, and from the strong and central situation of Arta, which have made it the chief town of the surrounding parts of Western Greece, causing it to give name to the Gulf, like Ambracia of old, is fully confirmed by other coincidences derived from the ancient authors. From a comparison of their testimony, we learn that Ambracia was situated eighty stades from the sea, in the middle of the northern side of the Gulf, on the eastern bank of the Arætlus, otherwise called Arachthus or Arethon, which rose in Athamania, and in the same mountains which give rise to the Peneius[2]. There is no

[1] Παναγία ὁδηγήτρια, or the conductress.

[2] Strabo, p. 325, 327. Scylax, in Ἀμβρακία; Dicæarch. v. 24; Lycophr. v. 409; Callimach. ap. Tzetz. in eod.; Polyb. l. 22, c. 9; Liv. l. 38, c. 4.

The words ὀλίγων σταδίων, and ὑπέρκειται τοῦ μυχοῦ μικρὸν, by which Strabo describes the distance of Ambracia from

other river, nor any other position near the Ambracic Gulf, that will correspond to these requisites.

Livy, in the narrative which he has borrowed from Polybius, of the siege of Ambracia by the Romans under the consul Fulvius, in the summer of the year B.C. 189, informs us that the city of Ambracia was more than three miles in circumference; that it stood on the western side of a rugged hill called Perrhanthe, one of the summits of which was occupied by the citadel; and that it was well protected by the river and heights, and by the wall which surrounded it[1]. These particulars are exactly justified by the existing remains.

As the siege by Fulvius is the most remarkable event concerning Ambracia which occurs in history, and as it refers both to the topography of the place itself and to the geography of the surrounding country, I shall subjoin the principal circum-

the sea, does not quite accord with the eighty stades of Dicæarchus and Scylax; but the agreement of these two authors, and the circumstance of the number in Dicæarchus being in verse, leave no doubt that eighty was the distance. It is one of those instances of a want of precision, so little adapted to geography, which are too common in Strabo.

[1] Ambracia tumulo aspero subjecta est, Perrhanthem incolæ vocant: urbs, qua murus vergit in campos et flumen, occidentem, arx quæ imposita est tumulo orientem spectat: amnis Aretho, ex Athamania fluens cadit in sinum maris, ab nomine propinquæ urbis, Ambracium adpellatum; præterquam quod hinc amnis munit hinc tumuli, muro quoque firmo septa erat, patente in circuitu paullo amplius tria millia passuum.—Liv. l. 38, c. 4.

stances of it. From the reign of Pyrrhus, Ambracia had been the capital of Epirus and the royal residence[1]; but at the time of the siege it was in the hands of the Ætolians, and had been a main cause of the extent of the Ætolian power at that period of Grecian history, by giving them either a direct authority or a strong influence over the neighbouring states of Amphilochia, Aperantia, Athamania, and Dolopia, which last confined on other acquisitions of the Ætolians in Phthiotis and the country of the Ænianes. As soon as they found themselves unable to save Ambracia, they submitted to the Roman power, and never recovered their former importance. Fulvius, who had landed at Apollonia, and had marched through Epirus, first established two fortified camps at a moderate distance from each other in the plain, and built a castle on a height near the citadel. His Epirote allies were encamped in the plain on the opposite side of the river. Before the consul could unite his three works together by means of an entrenchment, Eupolemus, with one thousand Ætolians, made his way into the city. As soon as the circumvallation was complete, and the machines prepared for assailing the walls, the Romans began to batter them in five places: three of these, at two equal intervals, were in the plain over-against the Pyrrheium; a fourth was near the temple of Æsculapius, and the fifth was at the citadel. The walls were so strong as to resist even beyond the expectation of the besieged;

[1] Strabo, p. 325. Polyb. l. 22, c. 9. Liv. l. 38, c. 9.

giving them time to make sorties by night and day, and enabling them to counteract the effects of the battering machines of the enemy, either by means of engines or of fire.

While these operations were in progress, a second body of Ætolians, amounting to five hundred, partly by force and partly under cover of a tempestuous night, entered the place, and immediately joined Eupolemus in assaulting the Roman lines, in which attempt it had been concerted that they were to be assisted by a simultaneous attack from without by Nicander, the prætor of Ætolia. Nicander, however, found a cause or an apology for inaction in the arrival of Perseus in Amphilochia, who had been sent by his father Philip to recover that country and Dolopia from the Ætolians. The double consequence was, that the sortie from Ambracia failed, and that Perseus retired from his attack of Argos on the approach of Nicander, and returned into Macedonia, contenting himself with the spoliation of Amphilochia and Dolopia. No sooner had this obstacle been removed, than a new diversion occurred to prevent the prætor from attempting to raise the siege of Ambracia. Pleuratus, king of Illyria, having arrived with sixty ships in the Corinthiac Gulf, made from thence desultory incursions on the Ætolian coast, which required the attention of Nicander and his army. Meantime the siege proceeded vigorously on both sides. The wall was breached and retrenched; a mine was formed and countermined, and the parties fought in the subterraneous passages, until the besiegers were driven out by the

missiles of their adversaries, or by the smoke of burnt feathers. Affairs were in this state when deputies arrived to solicit peace on the part of the Ætolian council, who were urged to this measure by the defeat of Antiochus in Asia, by their conscious inability of resisting three such enemies as Philip, Pleuratus, and the Romans, and probably by the conviction that the Ambraciotæ and their friend Amynander, king of Athamania, were only waiting for an opportunity to withdraw from their forced alliance with Ætolia. The principal conditions were, that the Ætolians should pay five hundred Euboic talents to Rome, and should cease to claim any authority over the cities which had been taken by or allied with the Romans since the arrival of T. Quinctius in Greece. The people of Ambracia presented Fulvius with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds weight; but this present did not save the city from being despoiled of all the statues of brass and marble, with which, as having been the royal residence of Epirus, it was adorned beyond all the cities of Western Greece. In the triumph of Fulvius two years afterwards, on his return from his proconsulship, two hundred and eighty-five statues of brass, and two hundred and thirty of marble, were exhibited in the procession, the greater part of which had been brought from Ambracia, Ætolia, and Cephallenia.

The triple assault of the walls seems evidently to have been from the side of the modern gardens, that being the only part of the circuit where the walls were contiguous to the plain. The Pyrrheium, consequently, which I take to have been

a fortified palace built by Pyrrhus, was in the adjacent part of the modern town, and probably near the river, comprehending the beautiful terrace now occupied by the metropolis. The situation of the monastery of Fanaroméni seems to have been an advantageous point for one of the battering machines of the Consul, and may therefore be the site of the temple of Æsculapius. The castle which Fulvius built on a height overagainst the citadel [1], we can hardly doubt to have been on the hill of St. Elias, which is separated only by a hollow from that of the Acropolis; for the occupation of that height was obviously necessary to the safety of his line of circumvallation. The position of his work for battering the Acropolis was of course immediately opposite to the hill of St. Elias, on the crest of that of the citadel, and close to the wall.

Dicæarchus informs us that Ambracia was noted for a temple dedicated to Minerva, which may have been converted into one of the ancient churches now existing, such having often been the use made of the pagan temples.

The other situations in the Ambracian territory which history has noticed are: 1. Ambracus, which was captured by Philip, son of Demetrius, in the year B. C. 219, after a siege of forty days, undertaken at the instigation of the Epirotes, who hoped that it would lead to the recovery of Ambracia from the Ætolians [2]. 2. The port of Ambracia, near which

[1] Castellum loco edito contra arcem.

[2] Polyb. l. 4, c. 61.

there was a fortress[1]. 3. Craneia, which a comparison of Pliny and Stephanus shows to have been a subordinate place of the Ambracia, on a mountain of the same name[2].

Ambracus is described by Polybius as a place, in the territory of Ambracia, well fortified with ramparts and outworks, and as surrounded by marshes, through which there was only one narrow causeway leading to it[3]. This description accords so well with Fidhókastro, that little doubt can remain of the identity. If Ambracus was the same as the τεῖχος, or fortress near the port of Ambracia, mentioned by Scylax, of which the probability is very great, we may conclude that the harbour, which, according to the same author and Dicæarchus[4], was a κλειστὸς λιμὴν, or port closed with moles, leaving a narrow entrance which might be shut with a chain, was an artificial basin, excavated near the fortress, and opening towards the mouth of the river, which appears anciently to have discharged itself very near to Fidhókastro. Craneia I conceive to have been the high mountain now

[1] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θαλάττης τεῖχος καὶ λιμὴν κάλλιστος (*lege* κλειστός).—Scylax, in Ἀμβρακία.

[2] Κράνεια, χωρίον Ἀμβρακιωτῶν, Θεόπομπος πεντηκοστῷ πρώτῳ.—Stephan. in Κράνεια. Montes clari in Dodone Tomarus, in Ambraciâ Crania, in Acarnaniâ Aracynthus.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

[3] καὶ προτειχίσμασι καὶ τείχει. κεῖται δ' ἐν λίμναις μίαν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας στενὴν καὶ χωστὴν ἔχων πρόσοδον. — Polyb. ubi sup.

[4] Τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν Ἀμβρακία πρώτη πόλις·
Αὐτὴ δ' ἀποικία λέγεται τῶν Κορινθίων
Εἶναι· κατὰ τὸν κόλπον δὲ τὸν καλούμενον

called Kelberíni, which rises from the right bank of the river of Arta, immediately opposite to the town, and which is exactly of the rugged nature described by the ancient name. Whether this was the same as the Sacred Mountain mentioned by Dicæarchus [1], or whether the ridge on which Ambracia stood, and which Livy calls Perrhanthe, bore that name, cannot be asserted; but these being the only heights near Ambracia, the words of Dicæarchus seem applicable only to the one or other of them.

The poetical topographer just named differs from Scylax [2], in interposing the Oreitæ between the Ambracian coast and that of the Amphilochi, and thus identifies the country of the Oreitæ with Makrinóro; for as Polybius and Livy agree in

> Ἀμβρακικὸν ᾤκισται μέση, σταδίους δ' ἔχει
> Ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ὀγδοήκοντ'· ἐπιφανὲς
> Δ' ἱερὸν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστ' ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ λιμὴν
> Κλειστός· καλεῖται Δρυοπὶς ἡ χώρα δ' ὅλη.
>
> Dicæarch. v. 24.

> [1] Ἀπ' Ἀμβρακίας εἰς Θετταλίαν τριῶν ὁδὸς
> Ἐσθ' ἡμερῶν· ἔχει δὲ ποταμὸν λεγόμενον
> Ἄραχθον εἰς θάλασσαν ἐξιόντα καὶ
> Ὄρος πρόσεστιν ἱερὸν δ' ἐπικεκλημένον.
> Σταδίων δ' ὁ παράπλους ἐστὶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.
> Εἶτα μετὰ τοῦτόν εἰσιν Ὀρεῖται λεγόμενοι,
> Εἶτ' Ἀμφίλοχοι· Ἄργος δ' ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ
> Ἀμφιλοχικόν· μετὰ τούτους δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνες.
>
> Dicæarch. v. 40.

[2] Παράπλους δὲ τῆς Ἀμβρακίας στάδια ρκ. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμβρακίαν Ἀκαρνανία ἔθνος ἐστί. καὶ πρώτη πόλις αὐτόθι Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν.—Scylax, in Ἀμβρακία, Ἀκαρνανία.

placing Argos Amphilochicum at 22 miles from Ambracia, it is evident that the country at the head of the gulf, immediately beyond Makrinóro, was the Amphilochia. The Oreitæ therefore seem to have been the inhabitants of that remarkable mountain, and probably of its northerly continuation also, as far as it bordered on the Ambracian territory.

As the foundation of Nicopolis was the term of the existence of Ambracia, it was to be expected that the site of Arta should be deficient, as we find it in those remains of the time of the Roman empire, which so constantly meet and sometimes disappoint the traveller when in search of earlier monuments in Asia, Africa, and many of the cities of Greece. Whatever may be found at Arta will probably be of the best times of Greece, as Ambracia, after having been plundered by Fulvius, shared the fate of the other cities of Epirus, 22 years afterwards, when the Senate of Rome, to gratify their army, which had been disappointed of the plunder of Macedonia, gave directions for that atrocious act of deliberate cruelty and perfidy, too well attested by the cotemporary historian, which consigned 70 cities of Epirus to plunder and destruction, and 150,000 Epirotes to be sold as slaves[1]. Hence the wretched

[1] Polyb. ap. Strabon. p. 322. Liv. l. 45, c. 34. Plutarch. in Æmil. Livy and Strabo, copying from Polybius, state the share of plunder to each Roman horseman to have been 400 denarii, and to each foot-soldier 200. Plutarch, though he agrees in the number of cities taken, and Epirotes enslaved, asserts that the prize-money amounted only to 11 drachmæ each.

state into which Ambracia fell, in common with the other cities occupying the naturally favoured districts around this beautiful inland sea, and which reduced them all to so small a population, that they sufficed only, even with the aid of a Roman colony, to furnish inhabitants for the single town of Nicopolis. To the abandonment of the site of Ambracia we may attribute, as in the instance of Sparta and a few other leading cities, the loss of the ancient name; for it has rarely happened where the positions have been continually inhabited, that the name has not been preserved. When strength of situation became again an important requisite, Ambracia was re-occupied, as well as two other Hellenic sites at Vónitza and Rogús, while such as Sparta, Megalopolis, and other places little defended by nature, have remained desolate. The new name seems to have been taken from that of the river Ἄραθος, or Ἄραχθος, which was the more easily contracted into two syllables as the accent was on the first. The monasteries and churches, Vlakhérina, Fanaroméni, Parigorítissa, Saint Theódhora, and Pandokrátora, show the importance of the renewed city under the Byzantine emperors.

CHAPTER V.

EPIRUS.

Route from Arta to Ioánnina—Maráti—Khanópulo—Strivína—Kometzádhes—Koliádhes—Mulianá—Pendepigádhia—Varlám—Mount Olýtzika—Pestá—Ai Dhimítri—Ioánnina—Departure for Suli—Rapsísta—Variádhes—Tervitzianá—River Lakiótiko—Romanátes—Suli—Kughni—Kukiá—Ai Dhonáto—Samoníva—Kiáfa—Bira or Trypa—The Hill of Lightning—Mountain of Tzikurátes—Klisúra—River *Acheron*—Fanári—Glyký—Wars of the Suliotes—Departure from Kiáfa—Avaríko—Seritzianá—Zermí—Zerlía—Arassó—Kutzanópulo—Kamarína—Zálongo—Ruins of *Cassope*—Luro—Kantzá—Lélovo—River of St. George—Aqueduct of *Nicopolis*—St. George—Koliádhes—Pendepigádhia—Return to Ioánnina.

June 27.—This afternoon, at 6, having re-crossed the bridge of Arta, we follow the right bank of the river to Maráti, a suburb standing just opposite to the metropolis of Arta, and consisting of a Turkish mosque with some houses and gardens. The Turk who built the mosque adorned it with several columns from the church of Parigorítissa, where the loss has been very clumsily repaired. The gardens of Maráti abound in filbert trees, the fruit of which forms one of the exports of Arta. Among the gardens is a ruin with walls and towers, apparently of the early times of Arta, forming a square of 36 yards; it is now called τὸ Καστέλι. Beyond Maráti we cross the plain, leaving a marsh

on the left hand, and having arrived at the foot of Mount Kelberíni, bend to the left along its foot, following a paved road which overhangs the edge of the marsh.

In the midst of this pass at 7.7 are some copious springs issuing from under the mountain, and forming a large stream; it is supposed to be the subterraneous discharge of the Lake of Ioánnina, and flows to the lagoon of Logarú. The marsh now becomes more deep and impracticable, and the mountain steep and rocky, the exhalations are offensive, and numerous serpents are seen on the water's edge. At 7.40 the pass ends, and the marsh retires to the left, leaving a cultivated plain which extends to Strivína in front, but narrows to the right, where it terminates in an ascending valley, the direct route and natural opening of communication from the Gulf of Arta to the plain of Ioánnina. At a khan called Khanópulo we leave that road to the right, and proceed for the night to Strivína, where by order of the bishop a cottage had been prepared for me. This village contains 30 or 40 families, who are chiefly employed in the culture of tobacco on the banks of a stream, of which the sources are in the village. After flowing through a marshy plain, it forms one of the tributaries of the river of Luro.

June 28.—Setting out this morning at 4.30, we rejoin the road to Ioánnina at the entrance of the valley above-mentioned at 5, then ascend the dry bed of a torrent, and at 5.30 leave the village of Kometzádes[1] a quarter of a mile to the right,

[1] Κομετζάδες.

situated on uneven ground on the side of the torrent, which here issues from between two high summits of Mount Kelberíni. To our left, at the same time, are the remains of a small triangular Hellenic fortress, standing on the summit of a hill, which commanded the entrance of this important pass. The walls are in some parts still standing to a considerable height.

From hence we continue to ascend, passing a little to the right of Koliádhes[1]; and at 6.38, arriving at the summit of the pass, descend into a small valley included between steep rocky mountains. At 7.10 the village of Mulianá is half a mile on the right, on the mountain's side, situated at the entrance of a lateral pass which leads to the vale of the *Arachthus*, over Mount Kelberíni, or rather which separates that summit from Xerovúni, a ridge following the same northerly direction as the former. The Vezír has lately built a serái at Mulianá, and has constructed a good paved road by which we cross a counterfort of the mountain to Pende Pigádhia[2], where are a few cottages, and a little beyond them the five wells which give name to the place. It is situated just at the opening of the pass where it begins to descend into an elevated plain, similar to that below Mulianá, but much more extensive, and equally bordered on either side by a steep rocky mountain. We arrive at the khan of the Five Wells at 8.38, and make a long halt, for at this season of the year it is necessary to divide the day's journey, and to rest

[1] Κολιάδες. [2] τὰ Πέντε Πηγάδια.

during the meridian hours, which, especially in the villages, are by far more quiet than the night, when asses, hogs, dogs, fowls, rats, bugs, fleas, gnats, are all in a state of activity. Of the three latter plagues, which by adding want of sleep to the effects of fatigue and climate often contribute powerfully to destroy a traveller's health, the flea is the only one from which he may not be protected by a well constructed mosquito netting. This torment and the excessive heat are the chief impediments to the traveller's repose in the day, for as to the incessant chirping of the wood-cricket, he soon becomes accustomed to it, though he will hardly bring himself to consider its note musical, as the ancients seem to have thought.

At 3.15 P.M. we descend from the khan into the valley, with the village of Varlám on the left, and beyond it the mountain Olýtzika[1], as the highest point of the range to the left of our road, and the most remarkable peak in all the surrounding country is now called. I know not where we are to look for its ancient name. Below Varlám are some fields of tobacco, but the chief produce of this valley, as well as of that below Mulianá, is kalambókki.

At 4.45, after having crossed the plain, there is a further descent, with the village of Pestá on the right, to a fine source of water on the road side. Here, to the left, on the opposite side of the valley,

[1] Ὀλύτζικα. I follow the orthography of Meletius in this name; but the vulgar sounding, as usual where the τζ is concerned, is Olýtjka.

rises a sloping cultivated hill, on the summit of which are the ruins of a triangular Hellenic fortress, naturally fortified at the back by a precipice, which overhangs the ravine lying between it and Mount Olýtzika. Twenty minutes farther there is another paleó-kastro, at about an equal distance to the left of our road, of the same kind as the former, and similarly situated, but the hill is steeper, higher, and more uneven, and the inclosed space is larger. We now begin to descend towards the great plain of Ioánnina, and at 5.52 arrive at the khan and small village of St. Demetrius, situated in a little bay of the plain, half an hour beyond which, Bartzi is on the side of the hills on the left; hereabouts are several round ponds in the plain, some of which are covered with water lilies. We hasten forward, and at eight arrive at Ioánnina. The distance from Arta is about forty-two miles by the road. In time, it is thus generally reckoned: from Arta to Khanópulo, 1.30; to Kometzádhes, 1.30; to a ruined khan under Mulianá, 1.30; to Pendepigádhia, 1.30; to Ai Dhimítri, 3; to Ioánnina, 3. Total, 12 hours, or 14 with baggage.

June 29.—Since my visit to the Vezír at Tepeléni, he has built a foundery at Buníla, in the plain of Ioánnina, where he had before established a colony of Bulgarians, whom he brought here in 1802, on his return from the Danube, and lodged in cottages built in a qradrangle, like their own native palankas. When I asked His Highness how he procured copper to make his gun-metal, "I collect it," he says, "from my subjects; one fur-

nishes an old pot, and another a kettle." A magnificent room, which he has just finished in his new serái in the Kastro, is probably not surpassed by those of the Sultán himself. It is covered with a Gobelin carpet, which has the cypher of the King of France on it, and was purchased by the Pashá's agent at Corfú. His Highness has lately taken Dr. Frank, formerly one of the physicians of the French army of Egypt, into his service, at 10,000 piastres a year. In the evening he has some mortar practice at Buníla, with an old five or six inch mortar, which has been considerably damaged by its employment in the siege of Suli. They fire loaded shells, one of which explodes close to a party of Greeks standing upon a height, but fortunately without hurting any of them. The Pashá laughs very heartily at the joke. We then visit the foundery, the roof of which seems likely to fall.

July 1.—This afternoon I set out on a tour to Suli, accompanied by the Italian renegade Mehmét Efféndi, together with one of the Vezír's trusty Albanian bolu-báshis, and his chief architect named Peter of Korytzá, who constructed the bridge and serái at Tepeléni, and has built many others of the Pashá's palaces and castles. His Highness furnishes me with an excellent mule, for the mountain paths, from his own stable. We proceed no farther this evening than Rapsísta, a village distant 1.30 hour from the city, in the middle of the plain on the right hand side of the road to Ai Dhimítri. On the hills above Rapsísta are two or three convents prettily situated among woods of pirnária.

July 2.—At 4.10 this morning we quit Rapsísta, leaving the baggage to follow; at 5.40 leave the khan of Ai Dhimítri half a mile on the left, then ascending the lowest part of the mountain which borders the western side of the plain of Ioánnina, we arrive at six in a small level on the summit where the village Ferekísi[1] is at a short distance on the left, from thence descend into the valley of the Variá, and at 6.23 arrive at that stream near the beginning of its course. On our left, as we proceed, is the ridge which separates this valley from that of Pestá and Varlám, and on two points of which are the two Hellenic castles mentioned on the 28th of June. We now cross another ridge, in the middle ascent of which are some ancient sepulchres and remains of Hellenic walls in and beside the road, and then descend to Variádhes, where we arrive at 8. This is a small village, with a kula or pyrgo belonging to the Vezír, situated at the eastern foot of the southern summit of Mount Olýtzika, where the heights overlook the narrow vale of the Variá.

From Variádhes, at 3.30 P.M., we proceed to cross the lowest part of the southern summit of Mount Olýtzika, and arrive at 5.3 at a church of St. Elias, standing on the crest of the ridge which separates the valley of the Variá from that of a branch of the river of Suli, and commands a view of both. We descend the slope obliquely to the left, and at 6.45 arrive at Dervidjaná, properly Tervitzianá[2], situated amidst fountains, large wal-

[1] Φερεκήσι. [2] Τερβιτζιανά.

nut trees, vineyards and gardens,—on the middle descent of the ridge, and enjoying a prospect of the valley below it, which is beautifully diversified with broken ground, streams, woods, and cultivated fields. At seven we arrive at the farther end of the village, at the kula of the Bolu-báshi, an Albanian of unusually polished manners.

July 3.—At four this morning we descend into the valley, and after passing a tributary of the river of Suli, cross at 5.30 the principal branch, which, taking its rise near the village of Lakiá, is called the Lakiótiko. The hills at the foot of Mount Násheri[1], which is a peaked summit, separated only by a hollow from Olýtzika, are covered with oaks, some of which are large. All the villages in this beautiful valley formed a part of the Suliote league in the time of its greatest power, when Variádhes, the vale of Variá, and all as far as the summit, overlooking the plain of Ioánnina, were included in it. The village of Paleókastro, which is a mile and a half on the left after crossing the river, belonged to the Bótzari family. Three minutes farther we begin to ascend the great mountain of Suli at the kula and tjiftlík of Romanátes, where are some ruins of another tower, which was surprised and blown up by the Suliotes during the war. Alý's Albanians having, as they thought, secured the place, went to forage, leaving a few of their youngest soldiers in it, and on their return remained at night on the outside. During the night the Suliotes, approaching silently, set fire to

[1] Νάσσερι.

a mine which they had left at the foot of the tower, and, as soon as it exploded, attacked and slew, or dispersed, the Albanians. After the war, the Vezír destroyed the church of Romanátes, and converted the village into a tjiftlík. From hence the ascent of the mountain is in a steep zigzag; the road has been well made, but in some places the borders are giving way. At 6.40 we pass a copious ἐρύσις, or source of water, in a hollow grown with pirnária; and continuing from thence to ascend, arrive at 7.28 on the crest of the ridge, about a mile to the southward of the highest summit of the mountain. Lefkádha is in sight to the southward; Paxú and Andípaxo to the west, with the hills behind Parga and the coast near Port Fanári: but Suli and its vicinity are hidden by a lower summit of the mountain, immediately overhanging them.

After a halt of six minutes we begin to descend; pass many remains of the konáks, or temporary huts of loose stone constructed by the contending parties during the siege; and having descended the steep mountain on foot, arrive at 8.45 at the village of Suli. On the side of the mountain grows a great quantity of a small fragrant species of abrotonum, not very common in Greece, and here named ἀπιστία.

Suli, called Kakosúli from its fame and strength, like the Κακοίλιον of Homer, or Megálo-Suli, to distinguish it from another Suli on the Kalamá below Zitza, contains 150 scattered houses, all of which are in ruins, except five or six, tenanted by Musulman Albanians, to whom the Vezír means

to add a colony of Christians from the neighbourhood of Tepeléni. The ruins of the principal church he is now converting into a mosque. The houses, which seem all to have been built on a similar plan, were small square buildings, with a pitched roof and two stories, of which the lower was a store or stable, and the upper contained two apartments. They were dispersed among terraces, artificially formed on the side of the hill, and now uncultivated, but which formerly bore potherbs, and corn, among fruit-trees. In the height of their prosperity, the Suliotes possessed all the adjacent part of the plain of Glykŷ, containing rice grounds and maize fields, in the culture of which they employed the Greek peasants of that district, thinking such employments beneath them, and delighting only in robbery, war, and idleness. The instances of their activity, of their swiftness in walking over the mountains and through roads and passages, to us impassable, of their expertness in the use of the musket, of their keenness of sight, in which they excelled all other Albanians, who themselves are exceeded only by the Arabs of the desert; their vigilance and sagacity, their ability in planning, and activity in executing, the most refined stratagems of their desultory warfare, would, in some instances, exceed belief, if they were not so universally attested by their enemies. Their power of vision in the night is particularly mentioned in terms of astonishment by the troops of Alý Pashá, who opposed them.

From Suli we proceeded south-westward to the hill of Kughni[1], an Albanian word, which the

[1] Κούγνη. The pronunciation is that of Kugni in Italian.

Greeks interpret λόφος, a summit: the fort of Kúkia occupies the southern point of the hill, and is distant from Suli 35 minutes[1]. Kúkia was the last point which resisted the arms of Alý. He is now erecting a new fortress on the spot, after having levelled all the walls, huts, and meterís of the Suliotes, as well as their church: 4 or 500 yards to the northward of Kúkia, and not much lower than that point, is a peak called Ai Dhonáto (St. Donatus), from a church which formerly stood there, and which the Pashá converted into a kula, and made the head quarters of the siege.

Having descended by the same road to the foot of the hill of Kughni, we fall into that from Suli to Kiáfa, near the ruined village of Samoníva, and in half an hour arrive at the ruins of Kiáfa, or Gkiáfa[2], situated amidst a few terraces and fruit-trees, and from thence, ascending the hill of Trypa, in Albanian Bira, arrive at a new fortress, not yet completed, situated on the summit of this narrow ridge, and midway between its two extremities. The south-eastern end of the height is the Bira, properly so called, which gives name to the whole ridge; the north-western is specifically named Breke Vetetímis, in Greek ἡ Ῥαχὴ τῆς Ἀστραπῆς, or the Hill of Lightning, because in stormy weather the lightning often strikes the summit, so often indeed that the Suliotes were obliged to give up building upon it. A kula which the Pashá erected there last year has already had one of its angles beaten down by a thunderbolt. This point,

[1] See a topographical sketch of Suli, at the end of this volume.

[2] Κιάφα, or Γκιάφα.

in fact, being lofty and precipitous, and surrounded by an amphitheatre of much higher mountains, cannot fail often to attract the electric fluid. Northward it looks down upon Kughni, at the distance of 1000 or 1200 yards, and is separated from that hill by a narrow vale, in which the Lakiótiko, or main branch of the river of Suli is joined by the Tzingariótiko, so called as rising near the village of Tzingári, on the mountain which rises to the northward of the hill of Kughni. The fortress in the middle of Mount Trypa, which the Vezír began to build as soon as he obtained possession of Suli, is now nearly finished: my companion Kyr Petros, of Korytzá, is the architect. The crest of the ridge is so narrow, that there is just room for a path, and Kyr Petros was obliged to level the hill before he began the castle. Towards the mountain of Tzikurátes, which is separated from the hill of Trypa by the river, and commands it on the southern side, as the mountain of Suli does on the eastern, he has built bomb-proof magazines, casemates, and cisterns. He has also completed a house for the officer in command, and is now building a large serái for the Vezír in the middle of the fort. The only guns at present here are two short pieces of brass, carrying a 12lb. ball. These and two five or six inch mortars were all the artillery used in the siege. The hill of Trypa towards the river is a rapid descent, covered with loose stones, and interrupted in many places with precipices and pointed rocks; although the slope forms an angle of about

30° with the horizon, the women of Trypa were in the habit of mounting it, with large jars of water from the river, upon their heads. The south-eastern end of the ridge of Trypa terminates in three pointed summits, the two northern of which are surmounted by kulas, lately erected by the Pashá to contain a guard of Albanians; one of these buildings has already been damaged by the lightning, but not so much as the tower at the opposite extremity of the mountain. The hollow between the two northern summits of the south-eastern end is properly the Trypa or cavity from which the whole mountain takes its name, but the posts of the Suliotes extended over all this extremity of the hill, and their meterís may still be traced as far as the place where the southern gate of the fortress now stands; 100 yards to the south of which, is a small Suliote church still subsisting. As it was necessary for the Pashá, when he had expelled the Suliotes, to build a fortress for his Albanian garrison, he could not have chosen a better site. Suli, however, although it would be troublesome to him in the hands of an enemy, is of no importance as a pass or point of communication between the several parts of Alý's dominions, nor can it be of much use to him as a place of refuge in case of disaster, for the mountains on both sides command it within a moderate range of cannon-shot; and although they are very difficult of access on all sides, an active enemy, if superior in the field, would soon find the means of transporting artillery over them.

Upon all the summits around Suli are still seen the remains of the Meterís and Konáks which were erected by the Pasha's troops during the siege. The former are upon all the most advanced and commanding points of the mountains, and are nothing more than little breastworks of stone, from behind which the besieger fired his long heavy musquet, resting it on the top of the wall. The konáks, or lodgings, were in the most unexposed situations, and were just large enough to afford shelter during their hours of repose, to the men who were stationed at that point of the investment. As the siege proceeded, the meterís were drawn nearer, serving the purpose of approaches in a regular siege, and blockading the posts of the Suliotes until they were reduced to starvation. In like manner the konáks of the Suliotes are to be seen on all the rocky points and precipices of the hills of Trypa and Kughni.

The river, after the junction of the two branches, flows through the Klisúra, or narrow opening between the mountains of Tzikurátes and Zavrúkho, into the plain of Glyký, where it is generally known by the name of the Suliótiko, or river of Suli. Along the rocky sides and precipices of the Klisúra, above the left bank of the river, the Vezír has lately made a good paved horse road from Suli to Glyký, so that now there is a road, though in some parts rather dangerous, through the entire pass, communicating from the plain of Luro, or of Ioánnina, into that of Glyký.

The view from the Hill of Lightning comprehends all the adjacent part of the plain of Glyký

with its numerous villages, and I perceive at once that the river is the ancient Acheron; for after winding through the plain it traverses a lake, or marsh, or rather combination of both, which is evidently the ancient Palus Acherusia, and then falls into the harbour called Porto Fanári, or Splantza, which (it is equally manifest) is the *Glycys Limen*[1]: so great is the quantity of water poured into it from the lake and river, that the water of the harbour is observed to be generally fresh, as the ancient name implies. The harbour and a great part of the *Acherusia* are hidden from Trypa by a part of the mountain of Tzikurátes. At the foot of the hills of Margaríti which rise from the western side of the plain of the *Acheron*, is a marsh called Vuvó, through which passes a river of the same name, flowing from the vicinity of Paramythía. Its subsequent course is traceable through the plain to a high stone bridge near Kastrí, a name generally indicative of an ancient site, and in this instance derived from the conspicuous ruins of a large Hellenic city on a height above the village. The Vuvó, as I am informed, afterwards winds to the left in a direction nearly parallel to the *Acheron*, and joins that river near the sea. It is probably the ancient Cocytus.

In the lower part of the plain the Suliótiko or *Acheron* is more commonly called Fanarítiko, or the river of Fanári; this name (in Albanian, Frai)

[1] For the Acheron, Cocytus, Acherusia, and Glycys Limen, see Thucyd. l. 1, c. 46. Scylax in Θεσπρωτοί. Liv. l. 8, c. 24. Strabo, p. 324. Pausan. Attic. c. 17.

being generally applied to the plain around and below the *Acherusia*, as Glykŷ is to the portion above it towards Suli. Formerly there was a village and church of Glykŷ near the right bank of the river, a little below the spot where it emerges from the gorges of Suli into the plain. But this church was destroyed by the Vezír two months ago, and there now remain only two or three of the buttresses which sustained the walls, and which may be remarked from the Trypa. During the war this was an important military post of the Suliotes, and sometimes was equally useful to their besiegers. The name Glykŷ, by a process of change not uncommon in all countries, seems to have spread from the harbour to the plain, and afterwards to have been applied specifically to a place, where, though nothing but a ruined church is now to be seen, there was probably a town of the Lower Empire; for Glykŷ still gives title in conjunction with Buthrotum to one of the bishops of the province of Ioánnina, whose residence is Paramythía, and the church at Glykŷ is acknowledged to have been the cathedral of that diocese.

At Glykŷ the plain is about five miles wide, and extends to the right in a northerly direction four hours to Paramythía. This large town, which is inaccessible to me at present on account of the hostility of its chief family to Alý Pashá, is situated at the extremity of the valley of the Vuvó, and has a castle behind it on a steep and lofty hill, near the foot of the range which terminates to the southward in the mountain of Zavrúkho and the Klisúra of Suli. The entire range, like most of the moun-

tains around Suli, is bare and rocky in the middle, but is covered at the summit with pine-trees.

The official name of Paramythía, by which it is always designated in the firmáhns of the Porte, is Aidonát Kálesi, or the Castle of Aidonát, which doubtless is a corruption of Ἅγιος Δονάτος, or St. Donatus, who was the patron of this part of the country: the church of Glyký was dedicated to him, as well as another on the ridge of Kughni, and a third in the village of Suli. It is curious that his name should so nearly resemble, especially in modern Greek pronunciation, that of Ἀϊδωνεύς, the ancient monarch of this country; for though the Greek mythology confounded Aidoneus with the lord of the infernal regions, he appears to have been in reality the mortal possessor of the valuable district watered by the Acheron, at the time when Theseus, prince of Athens, was on his travels.

The Suliotes, having no written memorials nor any clear traditions older than a century, it can only be offered as a conjecture, founded on strong probability, that Suli was occupied in the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, by a colony of those Albanians, who, at the latter period, overran the Despotate of the West, avoiding Ioánnina the capital, which was in the hands of Greek, Servian, or Frank princes; but settling at Arta and on the banks of the *Achelous*, and extending themselves, as their present settlements and the use of their language indicate, throughout maritime *Epirus*, from Illyria nearly to the *Ambracic* Gulf. The Turks, when they penetrated

into Epirus, were satisfied with the conquest of Arta and Ioánnina, and had little temptation to enter the poorer and more mountainous parts of the country, which neither the Greeks, Vlakhiotes, nor Albanians, who possessed them, were disposed to yield without a struggle. The Albanians soon discovered that the Ottoman empire was an excellent mart for their services as mercenary infantry; but that, in order to obtain all the advantages in view, it was necessary to profess the dominant religion. The consequence has been, that more than half the nation has become Musulman, that Mahometan Albanians are to be found in the service of every chieftain or governor of that faith, from the Straits of Gibraltar, to Arabia, Persia, and the Danube; and that at home they have either brought the Christians under their yoke, or have forced them to take refuge under a milder despotism in Southern Greece or Asia Minor. To the former country the stream of Albanian migration had been setting, even before the Turkish conquest; those countries having already been depopulated by wars, or by the bad government of the Franks and the Byzantine Greeks. Such is now the military preponderancy of the Musulman faith in Albania, that with the exception of a tribe belonging to the Roman church, in the district of Skodra, the Khimariotes are the only Christian Albanians who preserve their independence. The Suliotes were the last who fell under the Mahometan yoke.

During the past century, as well in the early part of it, when Ioánnina was governed by a

Musellím dependent on the Pashá of Arta, as after the year 1740, when it became the head of a Pashalík, the Suliotes were constantly engaged in war, with the neighbouring beys of Margaríti, Paramythía, or Ioánnina; for it was not until Alý succeeded to the government of Ioánnina, in the year 1788, that a factious oligarchy, similar to that of the Albanian towns, and which had left very little authority to the Sultán's officer, was rendered powerless, and has at length been stripped by Alý of the greater part of their property. The Suliotes soon found that they had an opponent in Alý far more formidable than they had yet known; and that to resist such a bold and crafty enemy would require all their energy. Nor was the Pashá less prompt in arriving at the conviction that he could have little hope of extending his power in the degree which his ambition contemplated, until he had reduced the Suliotes, who were a constant rallying point to the Christians, were capable of strengthening by their alliance every Mahometan chieftain disposed to resist him, and even threatened his capital whenever he might be engaged in any distant undertaking. By his usual artifices, he succeeded first in turning against them one or two of their Musulman neighbours, and then the Christian armatolí of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia;* which so provoked the Suliotes, that their predatory excursions, hitherto confined to hostile and neighbouring places, were extended to Makrinóro, or to the passes leading from Arta to Ioánnina, and even into the plain of Ioánnina, where they plundered travellers without distinction, and

never spared the life of a Mahometan unless with the prospect of a heavy ransom.

The war between Alý and the Suliotes was actively carried on during the years 1790 and 1791. In 1792 the Pashá made that formidable attack upon the mountain itself which has been related by Eton on the authority of a Greek interpreter in the service of the French consulate at Saloníki, who happened to be at Ioánnina at the time. His army approached Suli from the plain of Glyký, forced the Klisúra with difficulty, met with a still more resolute opposition in the pass of Paraskeví, which leads between the hills of Kughni and Bira to Megálo-Suli; but succeeded by the effect of superior numbers in obtaining a momentary possession of the town, when both women and men rushing forth against them, and an attack being made at the same instant on their rear, by a party which for this purpose waited only to receive a signal from Bira, the Mahometans were totally defeated with an immense slaughter, and with very little loss to the Suliotes. Mukhtár escaped with difficulty, and Alý fled with precipitation to Ioánnina, fearing to be intercepted.

This victory saved the Suliotes from any serious danger for the next six years, during which they were aided by a tacit, but not less real alliance with the Venetian towns of Prévyza and Parga; and through them with the adjacent islands, the Septinsular government having always been sensible of the necessity of maintaining good terms with the tribes of the opposite continent, and of prevent-

ing any single chieftain from acquiring too large a portion of the Epirote coast, upon which the islands depend for the supply of several objects of prime necessity. Ultimately, however, this connection of Suli with the Venetian places was destined to contribute to its ruin; for when the designs of the French Republic against Turkey became apparent, Suli was involved in the denunciations of the Porte against all those who were suspected of being friendly to the French in this quarter; and when Alý had taken Prévyza, it gave him great influence over all the neighbouring Musulmans, and left them no plea for declining to join him against the Suliotes, as abettors of enemies who threatened the Turkish empire with destruction.

Before the Suliote war, which began in 1798, the increase of Alý's power and his unceasing activity had curtailed the Suliotes of some of their dependencies, and had diminished the number of their combatants. The history of this last and longest of the Suliote wars, which continued to 1803 without any intermission except in the year 1802, when Alý Pashá, as Rumilí Válesi, was employed against the adherents of Pasvánt Oglú near Adrianople, has been written by a native of Parga, a part of whose narrative has been printed. As he seems to be a man of some education, who treated the subject with great minuteness and apparent accuracy, and was anxiously watching the progress of events in a neighbouring and allied town, it would be in vain to attempt to collect a

more correct account from the illiterate actors in the contest, now dispersed over every part of the Vezír's dominions, or in the Seven Islands[1].

The greatest misfortune, or rather the certain ruin of Suli, was the defection of its own citizens. The arch-traitor was George Bótzari, who received a bribe from the Vezír to desert with his *fara* before the war began, and who, in the course of it, tempted others to follow his example. Bira was lost in this manner, by the desertion of the Zervátes, about two months after the loss of the town of Suli, and Avaríko in consequence of a similar treachery on the part of Pýlios Gusi. After the fall of Bira, the Vezír's troops began to invest the hill of Kughni, where 300 families were collected. The four pieces of ordnance before-mentioned were placed at Ai Dhonáto, and on the side of the Hill of Lightning, in situations which are on a lower level than the summit of Kughni. The Pashá was totally in want of artillery-men; and although his shells destroyed the houses of Kughni, not more than three of the garrison were killed by them. The Suliotes made bomb-proofs by digging holes in the ground, and covering them with a slanting roof of timber, spread with boughs and earth. The women took refuge in a cavern, or in little konáks of loose stones, constructed for the occasion on the western side of the hill, where they were covered from the enemy's fire. On the summit there was nothing but a slight wall, comprehending a small church

[1] For an abstract of this work, see a note at the end of this volume.

to the eastward, of which the foundations now remain. The rest of the fortress consisted only of the walls of the exterior houses, united and loop-holed. The Vezír's Mahometan Albanians showed as much perseverance in the attack as their Christian opponents in the defence: the former climbed up the sides of the hill, particularly on the west, and made some small meterís of stone at the distance of a few yards only from the enemy's konáks. The Suliote women exposed themselves to the fire of the enemy, supplied the men with water, ammunition and provisions, and when not otherwise employed, discharged vollies of verbal abuse against the assailants. When resistance began to be hopeless, a part of the garrison made their escape by forcing their way over the enemy's meterís, like the Platæans in the Peloponnesian war. The defence was chiefly prolonged by the exhortations and example of a priest named Samuel, a native of one of the *Ægæan* islands, who had the care of the ammunition and provisions, and who, after the capitulation, was blown up in the magazine, which stood at the northern end of the hill, within the present fortress. One of the Pashá's officers, who had been sent to receive the fortress and its stores, suffered with him and two or three other persons, which seems to prove that the explosion was either accidental, or premeditated by the priest, and not as some persons imagine, the result of a scheme of Alý Pashá, to get rid in this manner of his most formidable opponent; but who, in fact, was already in his power. The Vezír's Albanians assert that it was an accident; but the Suliotes main-

tain that it was the deed of Samuel, which is very probable, as he could not expect any mercy if taken, and as it accords with his determined character, and with that of the Greeks in general, who often exhibit similar examples of desperation. The remaining families had permission to retire unmolested in whatever direction they thought fit; but the Vezír, in violation of his promises, intercepted many of them in their retreat, and brought them to Ioánnina. Of those who escaped, the greater part are now in the Greek corps, formed by the Russians in the islands, and many of the women and children are in the domestic service of the Christians of Epirus. There are now about seventy men prisoners at Ioánnina, and as many women and children. These the Vezír gradually disperses among his tjiftlíks as labourers, and generally sends them to the most disagreeable and unhealthy situations.

July 4.—This afternoon, having descended on foot from the castle to the ruins of the village of Kiáfa, we proceed at 3.45 eastward, along the hollow between the mountain of Suli and the hill of Trypa. At the end of this pass, just under the Trypa, stands the ruined village of Avaríko[1], from whence there is a descent into a deep ravine, formed by the meeting of the two great mountains of Suli and Tzikurátes; one of the darkest and deepest of the glens of Greece: on either side rise perpendicular rocks, in the midst of which are little intervals of scanty soil, bearing holly-oaks, ilices, and other shrubs, and which admit occa-

[1] Ἀβαρίκος.

sionally a view of the higher summits of the two mountains covered with oaks, and at the summit of all with pines. Here the road is passable only on foot, by a perilous ledge along the side of the mountain of Suli; terminating at a narrow opening, where the *Acheron* enters the defile from the vale of Tervitzianá. The river in the pass is deep and rapid, and is seen at the bottom falling in many places in cascades over the rocks, though at too great a distance to be heard, and in most places inaccessible to any but the foot of a goat or a Suliote. On the side of the road, at intervals, planks are collected, which have been sawn out of the oaks on the spot, and left in readiness to be removed.

At 5.45 we arrive at the end of the defile, and descend into a valley, where the river, coming from the north in a direction almost at right angles to its course through the Suliote glens, previously makes many turns and meanders, as if unwilling to enter such a gloomy passage. At 6, leaving Seritzianá close to the right, where only five or six houses now remain, and to the left Gorána, standing on the side of the range of Tzikurátes, we cross the river at 6.15, and immediately ascend into a vale, or opening between the ridge of Tzikurátes and Mount Násseri, which latter here changes its direction, and turns eastward towards Luro and the Gulf of Arta. From hence riding over a beautiful undulated valley, naturally fertile, but little cultivated, we arrive at 7 at Zermí, where the Vezír has lately built a tjiftlík of five or six cottages, inclosed by a square wall. My konák is an open gallery on the outside of one

of the huts. In the evening the whole atmosphere glitters with fire flies.

July 5.—At 4.20, A. M. we begin to follow the same valley, descending towards the south-east: the sides of the hills and the valley become more woody as we advance. At 5 the monastery of Arassó[1] is a little on the right at the foot of the mountain, and Zerlía a small village is on the heights to the left. Near the monastery there are said to be many ancient sepulchres, few of which have ever been opened; they show that the monastery occupies a Hellenic site. As the name appears to be ancient, Arassus may very possibly have been one of those numerous cities of Epirus unnoticed by history, but of which the former existence is well attested by their remains. At 5.30 a tumulus occurs on the road side, and at 5.45 the village Kutzanópulo on the hill to the left. We soon afterwards arrive on the bank of a dry torrent, shaded with fine planes, where the valley opens towards the Gulf of Arta, and a rich level is covered with plantations of maize. Leaving the castle and village of Luro a quarter of an hour on the left, we proceed to skirt the foot of the mountain of Zálongo which is united by a lower ridge with the hills on the right side of the vale which we have passed. After having made the semi-tour of the mountain, through a wood of small oaks, Libókhovo remains three quarters of a mile to the left, at 8; soon after which we begin to ascend the southern face of the mountain, and

[1] Ἀρασσός.

at 8.20 arrive at Kamarína [1], a village of 30 or 40 Greek families, situated among fruit gardens at the copious sources of a little stream which flows to the plain of Lámari, and there unites with a river which falls into the sea a little to the southward of a small harbour called Agriapidhiá.

My lodging is a chamber and open gallery in the serái, as it is called, of a Christian captain of Armatolí, named Ianáki, who is entrusted by the Vezír with the government of the surrounding district. The village commands a beautiful view of the gulf and plain of Arta, with the mountains around them, including the Makrinóro, the hills of Valto and Xerómero, and to the southward, the town, channel, and whole island of Lefkádha, ending in Cape Ducato, to the right of which is seen the Point of Viscárdo, in Kefalonía. Within this magnificent amphitheatre appear the town of Prévyza, the peninsulas of *Actium* and *Nicopolis*, and immediately below us an undulated country and plain, consisting of pasture, corn-fields, and olives, forming the district of Lámari. A line of tall detached masses is seen stretching across the plain, formed of a mixture of stone and Roman tile. These are the piers of the ruined aqueduct of Nicopolis.

The summit of the mountain of Zálongo [2], which is a mile to the north-eastward of Kamarína, is famed for having twice been the scene of a gallant resistance of the Suliotes. On the first occasion,

[1] Καμαρίνα.

[2] Ζάλογγος, from ζα, *intens.* and λόγγος, a forest, in middle and modern Greek.

ZALONGO

AND

CASSOPE.

100 families, who had retired hither by capitulation from Suli and Kiáfa, and who had lived on the hill unmolested until the reduction of Kughni, were suddenly attacked by order of the Vezír, on the pretence that the natural strength of the position had tempted them to commit acts of hostility against him. When affairs became desperate, Kitzo Bótzari and a party with him escaped. Of the rest, 150 persons were made slaves, 25 heads were brought to the Albanian Bolu-báshi at Kamarína, who commanded the attack, and 6 men and 22 women threw themselves from the rocks, at the place where the precipice is highest, in preference to falling alive into the hands of their enemies. Several of the women who had infants, were seen to throw them over before they took the fatal leap. Last year again, in the month of July, a party of 400 Suliotes, under Bótzari, sent over by the Russians to assist the Beys of Tzamuriá in their war with Alý, stood a siege here, in conjunction with as many Tzámidhes, for six weeks, against a large force sent against them by the Vezír; they capitulated, on condition being permitted to return with their arms into Tzami.

The meterís of the Suliotes are still seen on the weak points of the cliffs, which surround the hill on all sides, and particularly near a winding road which ascends through the cliffs, from the deserted monastery of Zálongo to its metókhi of Ἅγιος Ταξιάρχης, or St. Michael, which is situated in the middle of the summit, and is still occupied by two or three monks. The monastery stands just under the cliffs at the western extremity of the hill; from

which point the tabular, though sloping summit, which is of an oval form, rises gradually to the opposite extremity, where it terminates in a natural citadel, 200 yards long from north to south, and 35 broad. All the summit around the metókhi is covered with low oaks. No remains of Hellenic architecture are to be seen on this height, though it commands, at a distance not greater than the length of the hill itself, the eastern extremity of the Acropolis of an ancient city of great extent.

This Acropolis occupies a level about 1000 yards long, and one-fourth at the utmost of that breadth, and which is surrounded by low cliffs on every side, except to the north, where it is still better fortified by high rocky summits, connected with the height of Zálongo by a lower crest or ridge; on the farther extremity of which stands the monastery. The ruined walls of the Acropolis may be traced in their entire circuit, but are best preserved at the western end, and towards the upper cliffs. There were very few towers, and the masonry is so completely of the second order, that I do not observe one regular course, or rectangular stone. In the highest part of the inclosure at the foot of the cliffs, towards the western end, is a theatre in good preservation, of which the interior diameter is 50 feet; the rows of seats, which are 37 in number, are divided into two compartments by a præcinctio, or διάζωμα, the lower containing 24 rows, the upper 13. The cavea is greater than a semi-circle, and is divided into cunei, separated by steps. The outer circular wall of the cavea, and

those which support the two extremities, are built of polygonal masonry, without any squared stones, and are well preserved. The scene or structure in front of the cavea was divided into two compartments, of which the inner was equal in length to the inner diameter of the theatre, and the outer half that length; both were about 24 feet in breadth.

Two immense fragments of rock, which have fallen from the cliffs above, are lying on the cavea; this accident is said to have happened not many years ago[1].

On the descent from hence to the western extremity of the Acropolis, near where it terminates in an angle, is a subterraneous building, which the peasants call the Vasilóspito, or King's House. Its plan resembles, on a small scale, that of the tombs of the kings at Egyptian Thebes, and it was intended probably for a similar purpose; but instead of being hewn out of the rock, it is constructed of masonry. A passage, nineteen feet in length and five feet in breadth, with a curved roof one foot and a half high, leads to a chamber nine feet nine inches square, and having a similar roof five feet seven inches in height. The arches are not constructed on the principles of the Roman arch, but are hollowed out of horizontal courses of

[1] Mr. Hughes, on the authority of Mr. Jones, says that there is another theatre towards the south-eastern extremity of the ruins, which was not seen either by Mr. Hughes or myself.

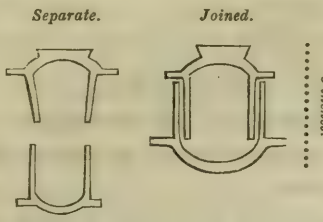
stone: the interior of the arch is plastered, and is adorned with a small cornice in the same material at the bottom of the curve. The architrave of the outer entrance is formed of a single stone seven feet long. The passage and chamber, but particularly the latter, are obstructed with stones and rubbish; so that in no place the surface of the ground is more than six feet below the bottom of the arch. There is an excavation of earth before the door; and the upper surface of the roof, which was probably in former times entirely covered with earth, is now partly visible on the outside. These seem to be the effects of a search which has been made for treasure. Upon the roof lie several stones in the form of segments of a circle, belonging apparently to some circular building of about ten feet in diameter. Not far from this subterraneous building there is a vaulted posterngate in the wall, the arch of which is formed by concave stones, as in the Vasilóspito; but in this instance the concave parts of the two upper stones do not meet, and the top is completed by a flat stone[1]. The wall is here entirely of the second order.

The principal gate of this fortress, which is still in good preservation, is in the western front, between the theatre and Vasilóspito. It is flanked on either side by a square tower, in one of which stands a sorus, formed of a single stone with an operculum, which has been removed just enough

[1] I have since remarked the same kind of construction in some arched gates in Acarnania.

to admit of an examination of the contents of the tomb and of an abstraction of them. Below the theatre are many rectangular foundations, all of polygonal masonry, and apparently belonging to very large buildings. In some places the ancient streets may be traced, crossing one another at right angles. The circuit of the fortress is upwards of a mile, and that of the city could not have been less than three miles; for though I cannot exactly trace the inclosure of the exterior town towards the south, a piece of wall, which crosses the slope of the mountain ten minutes below Kamarína, serves to mark the extent in that direction. Along the foot of the wall, between the great gate and Kamarína, and particularly in a spot immediately behind the village, are many tombs of an ordinary kind, seven to nine feet long, and three or four wide. They were either hewn in the rock, and covered with three massy pieces of stone, or where the soil was earthy, had sides constructed of four fragments of stone set edgeways, with a covering of similar slabs. Having caused four of these tombs to be opened, I found in the first a great number of broken vases and bones, three or four small lachrymatories, as they are commonly called, and several long rectangular pieces of iron, one-tenth of an inch thick, and covered with gold leaf. The second tomb, though it had no appearance of having ever been opened, produced nothing, not even bones: a part of its cover and all the body of the tomb was cut out of the rock. The third, which was also hewn out of the solid rock, produced fragments, but not

many, of skulls and bones, with coarse vases of the usual forms, together with fragments of utensils made of lead, and a circular mirror of copper or mixed metal, six inches in diameter, placed within a covering of thinner metal; the lustre is still perfect on the side which has been protected by the covering. The opposite side has a rim three-eighths of an inch high, and the handle has an ornamented border. The same tomb contained also a leaden box two inches and one-eighth high, and one inch and three-eighths in diameter, shaped like the frustum of a cone, and having a button serving for a handle in the centre of the lid. As the labourers believed that the box contained jewels, and were afraid perhaps of an avanía, I opened it in their presence: nothing remained in it but some earth, amidst which were two or three shells of a minute kind of snail. The mirror, and the box which once contained probably some ointment or perfume, show the tomb to have been that of a female. In the fourth sepulchre were found two or three vases, and some more of the ornaments of iron and gold above-mentioned. The speculum was placed vertically at the feet of the deceased: the vases were found in every part of the tombs, and are all of the most ordinary kind of Greek pottery. The annexed was the only form among them that is not very commonly found in Greece.



This great city I take to have been Cassope, or

the city of the Cassopæi, who occupied the maritime country between Thesprotia and the Ambracic Gulf, and bordered on the territory of Nicopolis [1]; for although in the time of Scylax the Cassopæi dwelt *κωμηδὸν*, or in small towns, it is very probable that the most advantageously situated of those towns became subsequently the head of the nation, when the Cassopæi arose to such power as to obtain Pandosia and some other places in the ancient Thesprotia [2]. The Acropolis, therefore, of which the masonry indicates so remote an antiquity, may have been the Κώμη, older than the time of Scylax, and the lower city may have been added at that later period to which the coins of the Cassopæi have the appearance of belonging. That this people had a capital city, is shown by Diodorus, who, in relating an expedition of Lyciscus, commander of the forces of Cassander, against Alcetas, king of Epirus, in the year B.C. 312, states that Lyciscus, marching from Acarnania into Epirus, pitched his camp near the city Cassopia [3]. Alcetas, after having sent his two sons, Alexander and Teucer, to collect forces, advanced to meet Lyciscus; but his Epirotes having passed over to the enemy before the reinforcements arrived,

[1] Μετὰ δὲ Θεσπρωτίαν Κασσωπία ἐστὶν ἔθνος· οἰκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ κώμας· παροικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἕως εἰς τὸν Ἀνακτορικὸν κόλπον. — Scylax in Κασσωπαῖοι.

Οἰκοῦσι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀκαρνᾶνες . . . . . ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡ Νικόπολις καὶ τῶν Ἠπειρώτων οἱ Κασσωπαῖοι μεχρὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀμβρακίαν.—Strabo, p. 325.

[2] Demosth. in Orat. de Halonneso.

[3] περὶ Κασσωπίαν πόλιν.—Diodor. l. 19, c. 88.

he fled to Eurymenæ, where he was joined by his sons. He then fought two battles with the enemy, and in the former had the advantage; but the Macedonians having prevailed in the latter, he took refuge with his two sons in another place of strength, leaving Eurymenæ to be taken and destroyed by Lyciscus; soon after which Cassander, arriving in Epirus, made peace with Alcetas, and entered into an alliance with him. It seems not improbable from these circumstances, that Eurymenæ stood in the vale of the Upper *Acheron*, towards Lakiá, Variádhes, or Tervitzianá; for the valley of the *Acheron*, below Suli, together with the country extending from thence to Zálongo, appears to have been occupied by the cities of Elæa, Buchætium, Cichyrus, Pandosia, Batiæ, and Elateia. Agriapidhiá was probably the λιμὴν, or harbour of the Cassopæi.

Captain Ianáki has an annual income of about 1000 piastres, now equivalent to 65*l.* sterling. He is authorized to deduct 300 piastres for himself, and 50 for each of his men, from the Vezír's revenue, which he collects; the remainder of his income is derived from fees on his arbitration of the disputes which arise in the district under his charge. My travelling companion, Kyr Petros, of Korytzá, considers Captain Ianáki an object of envy; and with reason,—for although Peter is the Vezír's chief architect and engineer, he has served in his present capacity for five years without receiving a pará, although constantly employed in superintending the building of some castle or serái for the Vezír or his sons. His property and family

are at Korytzá, where by special favour he is now and then allowed to stay a few days. He relates that when he was excavating the ground for the new serái in the castle of Ioánnina, a stone was found inscribed in honour of Thomas Ἡγούμενος, benefactor of Ioánnina. Having reported his discovery to the Vezír, his highness said, "Go read all the old histories, and come *to-morrow morning* and let me know whose monument it is." This same benefactor of Ioánnina is said to have been a much worse tyrant than Alý himself; and one among several examples which show that many of the Christian chieftains of Albanian and Servian race, with their military followers, exercised a dominion over the subject population of Greece not less oppressive than the Turkish. Kyr Petros states that his native town and the neighbouring one of Moskhópoli formerly contained five or six thousand houses, but that the emigrations which have followed the tyranny of the Pashás have reduced them to less than eight hundred. The distress of the Christian population throughout the diocese of Ioánnina, he ascribes in great measure to the extravagance of the bishop, who has loaded the see with debts to such a degree, that at his death the mansúp will hardly find a purchaser; while, meantime, his flock is fleeced to pay the immoderate interest, without which money cannot be raised in this country.

July 8.—This morning, having set my watch to Turkish time [1] to accommodate my companions,

[1] Though it is generally better for a traveller to conform to local customs, there is some inconvenience in Turkish

we begin the descent from Kamarína at 10, and in ten minutes arrive at some remains of the exterior walls of the ancient city, near a mill turned by the stream, which has its rise in the village. At a quarter of an hour short of Luro, we cross the mouth of the valley of Kutzanópulo, and at twelve arrive at the house of the Proestós of Luro, which village is situated in a low unhealthy situation, near a square castle of the Vezír, now in a ruinous state. All the hills around are clothed with oaks. Coarse but good blankets are made here, and in some of the neighbouring villages : a piece of seven feet by four feet and a half costs ten piastres. In the afternoon, at 8.53, we proceed over a desolate plain overgrown with brambles and bushes, and at 9.12 arrive at the foot of a rocky mountain, from which issue some copious streams of water, forming a large pond : it is very deep and pellucid, abounds in fish, and is closely shaded around the margin with trees and shrubs. To the right are marshes extending for a great distance towards the sea ;

time, as the watch cannot be kept correct without daily attention. It would seem, however, to be a natural mode of measuring time, being followed by so many nations. The Turkish method differs only from the Italian in dividing the day into two twelves, instead of reckoning to twenty-four ; so that sunset is always twelve o'clock. One of the commonest questions which a native of the Levant who wears a watch puts to a Frank is, " At what hour is mid-day ?" This he asks, that he may set his watch. The peasant without a watch generally asks, " How many hours is it to sunset ?"—this being obviously the principal question for the labourer. To the Turk also it is important ; as the afternoon's prayer is three hours before sunset.

and near the sources a kula for the protection of the pass, with the remains of a Hellenic tower, which doubtless served the same purpose.

A paved road here passes over the foot of the mountain, descends beyond the lake again into the plain, and then turns to the left through an opening between two mountains, in which stands the village of Kanjá [1]. The aqueduct of Nicopolis was conducted through this opening, as appears by some remains of it visible on the slope of the hill to the left, as we pass through Kanzá at 9.33: we then enter a small plain surrounded by mountains, and continue to ascend through it until turning a point of hill we open the view of an extensive valley, included between two parallel ridges of hills, of which those on the east are richly clothed with trees. To our left a woody height is surrounded with remains of the inclosure of the Hellenic city which possessed this beautiful vale, consisting only of the foundations of town walls, chiefly of the third order. The site is now called Kastrí.

At a distance of one hour and a half from Kanzá is Lélovo, situated on the rocky foot of the western hills. Around the village are plantations of olives, and below it fruit trees and gardens, extending into the valley, which stretches four or five miles farther, terminating inland in heights which separate it from the valleys watered by the upper tributaries of the *Acheron*, and of the eastern branch of the river of Luro.

Lélovo contains 150 or 200 houses, much dis-

[1] Καντζά.

persed. Papa Nikóla is both priest and proestós, and has a large house with yard and outhouses, erected with considerable expense, but utterly in want of the most vulgar comforts. He has the reputation of being a tyrant, and a complaint has lately been preferred against him by the village, but the Pashá seldom listens to such representations, unless to impose a fine upon the person complained of. The principal church, which was built about six years ago, is adorned within with costly gilding and painting. This is a vanity which Alý readily allows the Greeks to indulge in, and though he exacts something in permitting them to rebuild or repair their churches, he is very moderate on these occasions, and desirous of encouraging the practice. Lélovo contains the ruined serái of a Turkish Bey who once possessed a considerable property here in land, but was stripped of it by the Vezír, and now lives in misery at Ioánnina. All the better houses have spacious yards, in which the people delight to sit at this season, on a rude sofa raised upon sticks, and covered with fern leaves. These, when the leaves are fresh, are cool and agreeable, but they soon become dry and swarming with fleas, like every place in this country in summer where man inhabits.

July 9.—At 9.40, Turkish time, we begin to cross the valley in a south-eastern direction, and having traversed it, as well as the range of hills which border it on the east, we arrive at 10.45 at the issue of a large stream which flows to the river of St. George. We then ascend an uncul-

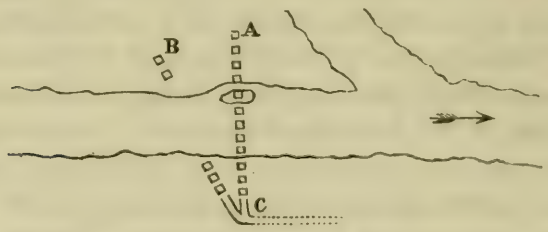
tivated valley overgrown with bushes, and having passed through a wood of large oaks, fall a little beyond the summit of a low ridge, into the road from Kanzá to Pendepigádhia, which here pursues the side of a woody and rocky height, about 100 yards above the river of St. George. The ruined channel of the aqueduct of Nicopolis follows the side of our road. Steep rocky heights covered with wood rise from the opposite bank of the stream. This is the main branch of the river, which joins the Gulf two or three miles to the northward of Nicopolis, and is usually called the river of Luro, perhaps from being collected into one body in the marshes of Luro. The river of St. George, although considerably smaller than the Arcadian Ladon, in volume of water, is broader and very rapid, falling with a great noise in a continued cataract over the rocks. This peculiarity leads me to believe that it was anciently named Charadrus; for although no author mentions any river besides the Arachthus in this part of Epirus, Charadrus was a natural name for such a rapid stream; and as Polybius twice alludes to a town of Charadra [1], which in one passage he clearly shows to have been on the road from Ambracus to the Strait of Actium, there is every reason to believe that it was situated on this stream towards the gulf, and that it took its name from the river. Some ruins on its bank, at Rogús to the eastward of Kanzá, mark probably the site of Charadra, as some remains of Hellenic walls

[1] Polyb. l. 4, c. 63. l. 22, c. 9.

are reported to be there mixed with the ruins of a town of the Byzantine empire.

At 11.40 we descend upon the right bank of the river, which is here overshadowed by very large plane trees, and after following it for a few minutes, arrive at a spot where the larger portion of the river issues from a rocky opening, under the foot of the opposite hill, and joins the direct branch, which falls into it, over a ledge of rocks in a wide cascade. The subterranean river is said to be the discharge of a katavóthra. A little higher up is a conjunction of several small streams which sink under the rocks. We continue to follow the right bank of the ravine, amidst plane trees, and soon arrive at a natural bridge formed by the rocks in the river's bed, under which the water is concealed for the distance of 100 yards. Towards the upper end, a part of the subterraneous current may be perceived through a lateral opening in the rocks, and several small tributaries tumble over them, flowing in numerous rills among the planes, until just above the natural bridge they unite and disappear in a great whirlpool. Two hundred yards above this spot occurs the junction of two other principal branches; that to the right, which is the larger though not so broad as the other, rises near Potamiá, and flows through the plain of Khierásovo and Koliádhes, the other comes from Ferekísi, where we crossed it near its sources in the road from Ioánnina to Variá. A little above the junction is the ruined aqueduct of Nicopolis, built across the ravine of the Ferekísi stream, which rushes through the arches of the

aqueduct over a stony bed. The beautiful effect of this ruin, fringed with shrubs, and which in the middle of the ravine is 70 feet high, with a double tier of arches, 18 feet wide, standing between two rocky, extremely abrupt, and woody mountains, and stretching over a rapid torrent shaded with enormous plane trees, it is easier to imagine than describe. The ruin is commonly known by no other name than that of σταὶς καμάραις, or the arches.



Besides the principal ruin there are remains on either bank of another row of arches, which crossed the ravine obliquely a little higher up the stream, and met the former in an acute angle, from whence began the conduit which was constructed along the side of the hills nearly as far as Luro. Across the valley of Luro it was probably again necessary to raise the aqueduct upon arches, though I did not perceive any vestiges of them. In the plain of Lámari, which the aqueduct crossed, long rows of the piers, as I have already mentioned, still remain, and the aqueduct may be traced, from thence to the western end of the hill of Mikhalítzi, and from thence to *Nicopolis*. The length was about thirty miles. Not a vestige remains in the bed of the river of the piers of the aqueduct B C, nor

can I discover from what sources it was supplied. The aqueduct A C was filled by a stream which issues from the side of the mountain, at a church of St. George. In order to reach that place we are obliged to return down the right bank to cross the united river at the natural bridge, then the branch from Potamiá, and lastly the stream from the church, which falls over the side of the mountain with the utmost rapidity, and supplies derivations for turning some mills. The source is in the mountain behind the mills, and issues in the church itself. When the aqueduct was in use, the water was of course conducted into it by an artificial channel; it now falls the whole height of the source above the bed of the river in less than half a mile. From the church we ascend in five minutes to the village of St. George [1], where we had intended to rest during the meridian hours, but find that it has been abandoned by the inhabitants on the news of our approach. Recrossing therefore the Potamiá branch, and passing for half an hour over some heights, we enter the valley of Potamiá, at the end of which, on the right, but not in view, is the village of Sfeliníki; and directly in front of us the summit of the Xerovúni, or Kelberíni range, which is just above Kometzádhes. Having passed some copious sources which join the river, we follow the foot of the hill from whence they issue, and reach the bank of the river, which is here a deep and muddy stream flowing along a marshy valley covered with rice fields. In an hour from St. George, we arrive at

[1] Ἅγιος Γεώργιος.

Koliádhes, a village of fifteen houses, now abandoned by its inhabitants on account of the bad air and gnats.

All the villages in the valley have summer residences on the surrounding hills, a common practice both in Greece and Asia Minor. The summer village of Koliádhes I have already noticed as being in sight, to the left of the high road from Arta to Ioánnina, between Kometzádhes and Pendepigádhia. Khierásovo is situated in the valley of the river of Potamiá, at the foot of the mountain immediately over against Koliádhes; between these and Potamiá, near which the river rises, there are six or eight other small villages inhabited in the season by cultivators of the rice-grounds, but which are all now empty. At a pyrgo at Koliádhes, where we halt, a Papás visits me, the only person left in the place, and who is losing his sight by a disease of the eyes exactly resembling the ophthalmia of Egypt. At 9 we set out again, continue to follow the left bank of the river, and the foot of the hills, from whence issue several sources, and at 10 quit the valley, which stretches considerably higher up, and turn to the right up an opening of the mountain, following a torrent which in some places is thickly shaded with stunted plane trees, until at 11.20 we arrive at the head of it at Pende Pigádhia. Pursuing from hence the ordinary road from Arta to Ioánnina, we arrive at the Khan of St. Dhimítri at 2.35, lighted for the last two hours by the moon.

CHAPTER VI.

EPIRUS, MACEDONIA.

Ancient remains near Dhramisiús—Kalarýtes—Syráko—Vilizá Matzúki—Mount Kakardhísta—Prospect from the summit—Departure from Ioánnina for Grevená—Dhrysko—Dhipótamo Gótzista—Khrysovítza—Tria Khánia—Métzovo—Beratóri—Pass of Djankúrtara—Mount *Citium*—*March of Perseus from Elimeia to Stratus*—Miliá—Kraniá—Kieperó—River Venetikó—Grevenó—River Vistrítza, or Injékara, *Haliacmon*—Siátista—Klisúra of Siátista—Saríghioli—*Tyrissa*—*Camps of Scipio and Domitius.*

July 14.—Having received intimation of some remarkable ruins at the foot of Mount Olýtzika, I proceed thither this afternoon. The road, leaving Rapsísta [1] a quarter of a mile on the left, enters an opening in the ridge which borders the plain of Ioánnina on the west, passes to the left of Kosmirá [2], a village situate in the midst of vineyards; and after having crossed the ridge, descends into a narrow valley at the foot of Olýtzika, on the side of which mountain are situated the four villages of Milyngús [3], Alepukhóri [4], Tjerkovísta [5], Drametjús, or Dhramishús [6]: in that order from south-east to north-west, and consisting of dispersed houses prettily situated among gardens on the mountain side. The summit of Mount Olýtzika, like most of the high mountains of this country, is

[1] Ραψήστα.
[2] Κοσμιρά.
[3] στοὺς Μιλυγγούς.
[4] Ἀλεπουχώρι.
[5] Τζερκοβίστα.
[6] στοὺς Τραμετζοὺς, Δραμισιούς.

a bare white limestone rock, deeply furrowed by torrents. Below this naked region there is a belt of firs, and then a cultivable slope.

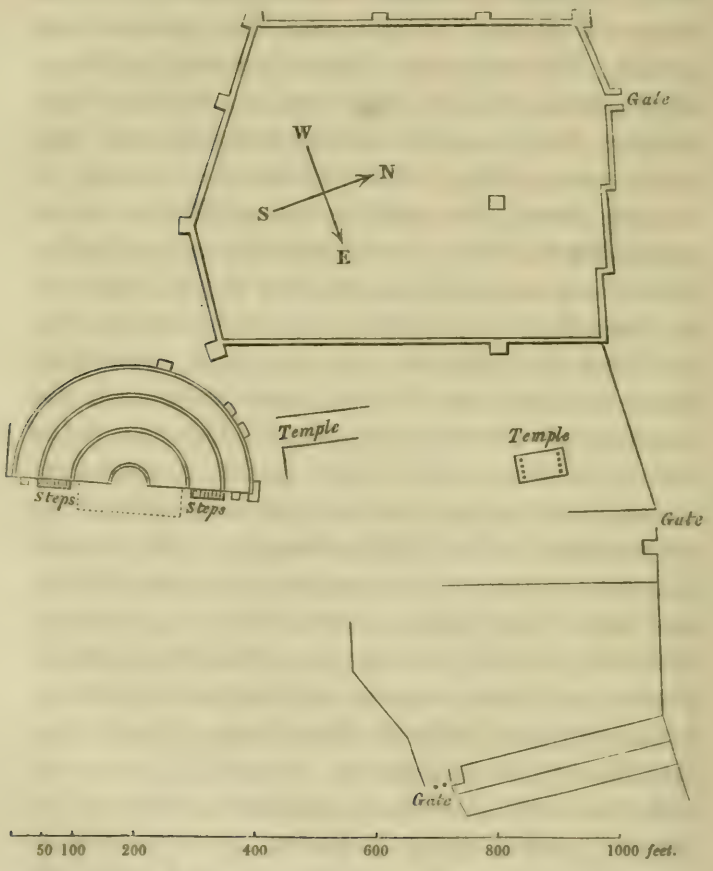
The ruins, called as usual the Paleókastro, are in the valley immediately below Alepukhóri, but nearer to Dhramisiús. Here are the walls of a Hellenic fortress, crowning the summit of a small rocky height, which rises from the lowest part of the vale. The form is an irregular quadrangle, and the inclosed space is not more than equal to a square of 550 feet. Within the enclosure is a small subterraneous building, supported by rude pilasters, and formerly covered with a roof formed of flat beams of stone, which have now fallen in. The walls of the fortress, flanked with towers, are extant in some places to the height of 15 or 20 feet, and are from 10 to 15 feet in thickness, according as the ground required a greater or less defence. The towers are not uniform in size or shape, nor are the intervals between them equal: the faces of those at the angles are from 25 to 35 feet long; in the intermediate towers they are not so long. The flanks in general are about 15 feet. The irregularity of the fortress, although caused in some measure by the nature of the ground, seems to have been partly adopted for the sake of obtaining a convenient site for an immense theatre, facing the south, and separated only, at the back, from one of the angles of the fortress by a passage 27½ feet in width. Like the theatre of Sparta, and many others in Greece, the middle part was excavated in the hill, and the two ends supported by two great masses of masonry, faced with rectangular stones, nicely fitted without cement. There

were 65 or 66 rows of seats[1], of which the two lowest were cut in the rock. As usual in Greek theatres, the seats were divided into horizontal portions by precinctions or corridors, and vertically by *cunei*, separated from each other by radiating *scalæ*, or flights of steps, each step being half the height of a seat. There were two precinctions, dividing the seats into three divisions, besides a third corridor of the same kind at the top of the theatre: in the upper division were 22 seats, and there were perhaps an equal number in each of the two lower; but there is some difficulty in ascertaining this fact, for though the seats all exist, their component blocks are very much displaced by the effects of vegetation or other causes, and are lying in confusion. In the upper division of the seats there were twice as many *scalæ* as in the two lower divisions, as may generally be observed in Greek theatres. Two broad flights of steps conducted from the exterior level, on either side of the proscenium, to the middle diazoma. The interior diameter or length of the orchestra is about 80 feet, and each wing being about 190 feet, the total diameter is 460 feet nearly: dimensions which place this theatre among the largest in Greece, such as those of Athens, Megalopolis, Sparta, and Argos. It differs, however, from all I have seen, either in Greece or Asia sufficiently preserved to afford a comparison, in having a cavea which, very little, if at all, exceeds the semicircle. In proportion to its diameter, therefore, it was inca-

[1] This, and two or three other particulars of the theatre and temple here given, were not obtained until I made an excavation in the year 1809.

pable of containing so many spectators as some of those above mentioned[1]. There are some foundations of the constructions belonging to the scene, which it would be interesting to excavate.

Hellenic Ruins near Dhramisiús.



[1] Taking 1ft. 4in. for each *sitting*, this being nearly the breadth marked in the greater theatre of Pompeii, the Epirote theatre might contain 18,000 persons seated, and 20,000 upon occasion; which renders credible the three myriads, sometimes assembled in the Dionysiac theatre of Athens, according to a passage in the Banquet of Plato.

On the north-eastern side of the theatre, and below the adjacent wall of the fortress, an enclosure, about two-thirds as large as the fortress itself, was surrounded on the other sides by a wall not more than half as thick as that of the fortress. It appears to have had an entrance by the side of a tower at its north-eastern extremity, and to have been separated by a narrow passage from the eastern side of the theatre. The slightness of the wall, and the remains of two temples in the enclosed space, evidently show that it was a sacred temenus, of which the theatre may have formed a part. Of one temple, which stood on higher ground than the other, and not far from the theatre, one or two columns only remain *in situ;* but of the lower temple, which is near the north-eastern end of the peribolus, or wall of the temenus, the lower parts of most of the columns are extant amidst the ruins. It was a tetrastyle, with at least 10 columns in the sides, about 70 feet long, and 25 broad, built of a coarse limestone, which is much injured by time. At one end of the temple, among the ruins, lies a piece of the frieze, ornamented with small capita bovis, connected by garlands formed of an intermixture of the vine with oak-leaves, acorns, and ears of corn : the relief is very low, and roughly executed.

Below the temenus was a third enclosure, smaller than the former, in the shape of an irregular quadrangle, and enclosed to the southward by a wall still slighter than that of the peribolus. Nevertheless, a part of it still stands to a considerable height ; and at its termination to the south-east was a large tower, with the remains of a gate

on one side of it, and on the other a long narrow space in the lowest part of the valley, enclosed with the remains of a slight wall. But neither here, nor in any other direction, can I find any traces of town walls, such as were universally employed in the cities of Greece. Nor was this narrow valley, deficient in water, and closely surrounded by hills, such a situation as the ancients usually chose for their towns. As well from these circumstances therefore, as from the nature of the buildings, I conceive them to have composed a Ἱερὸν, and place of public assembly, protected by a fortress [1], the dimensions of the latter not being even those of a κώμη, or small town. The position is so nearly central in the country of the *Molossi*, that it was probably a place of common sacrifice and political union for the use of all the towns of that division of Epirus. The valley is now chiefly cultivated with maize. The waters flow to the Kalamá. Variádhes is about three hours to the southward, over the roots of Mount Olýtzika.

Aug. 4.—The afternoon thunder-showers, which fell at Ioánnina two days out of three during the months of June and July, and still oftener on the neighbouring mountains, have ceased for the last ten days. The heat reflected from the hill of St. George, on which the upper part of the town stands, as well as from Mount Mitzikéli, which has the effect of an immense wall on the opposite side of the lake, is unmitigated, except by the maestrale, which the former hill in great measure

[1] φρουρίον, or τεῖχος.

intercepts. The thermometer, about 3 P.M., ranges from 90° to 98° in the coolest places. The want of rain to carry off the accumulation of filth, which nothing else ever removes from a Turkish town, begins to infect the air; and the muddy edges of the lake send forth exhalations which render that quarter unhealthy.

This evening at sunset I set out for Kalarýtes, one of the Vlakhiote towns of Mount Pindus, to the south-east of Ioánnina; and in less than three quarters of an hour arrive at a khan, near the small village of Katziká, which is situated near the south-western angle of the Lake of Ioánnina, not far from the foot of the hill of Kastrítza. From hence, after reposing for a few hours in a dirty cabin, adjacent to the shop of the Khan, we proceed at half-past three, *tempo Francese*, as the Italians and Levantines call the mode of reckoning used by French and English: follow the hill of Kastrítza, which rises from the southern extremity of the lake; and leaving it on the left, then pass through a narrow opening between it and some heights which are connected with the range of Xerovúni, into the valley of Barkumádhi [1], which surrounds Kastrítza, and to the eastward of that height touches the lake. Crossing the southern end of this valley, and leaving Ardhomísta [2] and two other small villages to the left, we ascend the ridge of Dhrysko, or Drysko [3], which separates this plain from the vale of the river Arta. All the land in the plain of Barkumádhi still belongs to

[1] Μπαρκουμάδι.

[2] Ἀρδομίστα.

[3] Δρύσκος, Ντρύσκο.

Turkish beys of Ioánnina, no part of it having yet become a tjiftlík of the Pashá. On the ascent of Drysko, we pass, at 5.15, a large monastery surrounded with oaks, named Eleókali, which the monks have abandoned on account of the frequent passage of late of Albanian soldiers by this road. At 6.50 we arrive at a chapel on the summit of the ridge; descend by a steep and very bad road, and at 8 ford the river Arta at the junction of a torrent on the left bank, where amidst barren mountains are a khan, some mills, and a few fields of maize.

A high narrow bridge crosses the river and another the torrent, but little use is made of them in this season. The river flows from hence through a very narrow vale to our right, and soon enters a deep ravine. To the left the snow-capped mountains, which stretch from Kónitza to Métzovo, are seen above Mount Mitzikéli. We now climb for an hour one of the steepest ridges of *Pindus*, as far as another khan under one of the highest peaks, which i never entirely free from snow, and on the other side falls to Syráko. Having remained at this khan from 9.5 till 4.40, we begin to make the tour of the summit, passing round its southern extremity, and leaving on the right a succession of cultivated slopes, with rocky intervals between them, which reach to the Arta. In these slopes are several mills, turned by torrents from the mountain. The heights, which rise abruptly from the opposite bank of the Arta, and connect Dhrysko with Mount Xerovúni, are well cultivated by the natives of twelve villages called the Katzano, or

Tomaro khória. At half an hour beyond the khan, the side of the mountain is covered with immense fragments of rock, and innumerable smaller pieces —the effects of the fall of a part of the mountain which occurred about twelve years ago. My companion, a Kalarytiote, states, that the previous fall of a portion, and the appearance of the rest, gave sufficient warning ; so that no damage ensued, except the destruction of the road. The ruin is half a mile in length, and the path through it winding and difficult. The immense rock of Djumérka [1] now presents itself in face of us to the southward, the opening between which and the parallel range of Xerovúni displays a fine view of the Gulf of Arta, with its shores and the mountains of Xerómero beyond it. On the nearest part of Tzumérka is seen the village of Prámanda [2], and a cultivated tract, sloping northward to a large branch of the Arta, which before its junction with the main stream passes through a narrow gorge between two very high precipices. This branch of the river is formed of three streams, one of which flows from Matzúki, the middle from Vilizá, the third and largest from Kalarýtes and Syráko. We now cross over the ridge, of which we had been following the side, and at 7.15 arrive at a small church of St. George, situated on a narrow summit, three or four miles to the southward of the peak which is above Syráko. The church commands a view of Syráko and Kalarýtes, both covering slopes of

[1] Τζουμέρκα. [2] Πράμαντα.

excessive steepness; the former just under the peak, the latter upon an insulated mountain, occupying a space between the ridge of Syráko and the still higher summits to the north and east, which form the central chain of *Pindus*. The third of the three streams above-mentioned passes between the two towns, which, although only two or three miles apart in a direct line, require as many hours to walk from the one to the other. Kalarýtes, standing on the eastern side of its mountain below the summit, is hid by that summit from Syráko. Nothing can be more surprising than the sudden view of these two large towns on arriving at St. George, after travelling the whole day amidst precipices, arid rocks, and desolation. It is particularly in the present season that the contrast is most remarkable; for while the little patches of cultivation within view, show nothing but a dry stubble, the gardens among which the houses of the two towns are dispersed, are maintained in the brightest verdure by numerous rivulets originating in the towns, or a little above them, and which undoubtedly guided the first settlers in their choice of the two positions. All the surrounding scenery consists of bare rocks or parched slopes, except to the southward, where a peak rising to the left of the fork of the Kalarýtes and Arta rivers, is covered from a little below the summit to the base with a thick forest of firs, mixed in the lower region of the mountain with other trees, and thus forming a most beautiful object in front of Kalarýtes. Several of the lower slopes in the ravines of the rivers

of Kalarýtes and Syráko, are clothed with woods : but they form no decoration to the picture in the higher positions, being hidden by the depth and narrowness of the ravines ; so that in descending from St. George to the river of Syráko, I was surprised to find myself suddenly in a thick forest of linden, maple, cherry, horse-chestnut, oak, elm, ash, beech, sycamore, and hornbeam, mixed with cornel, holly, elder, hazel, and a variety of plants of lower growth. The hill is so steep that the descent occupies half an hour by a continued zigzag. At the bottom the stream bounds over the rocks with a loud noise, and in some places forms deep pools which abound in trout [1] ; as all the neighbouring rivers are of a similar description, the Kalarytiotes are thus plentifully supplied with these fish in summer. They are most commonly taken by means of quick lime thrown into the head of the pool, which soon brings the intoxicated fish to the surface. In seasons of rain, nothing can resist the fury of the river : not long since, my Kalarytiote companion thus lost, in an instant, some mills and buildings which had given him a yearly rent of 1000 piastres. At the bridge, the road to Syráko branches to the left up the right bank of the river, until it arrives at a point immediately below that town, from whence there is an ascent similar to that which we follow from the bridge to Kalarýtes. The latter resembles exactly the descent from St. George, excepting that it is not so woody. Like

[1] Πεστροφαίς.

the descent, it occupies half an hour. At 8.30 we arrive in the upper part of the town.

Kalarýtes or Akalarrýtes, and Syráko or Serráku[1], are two of the largest of the Vlakhiote villages, which in number about 500, and none very small, are dispersed throughout the mountains of *Epirus*, *Thessaly*, and *Macedonia*. Vlakholívadho, near Olosóna, is reckoned the largest, and then Métzovo. We learn from the Byzantine history, that the Wlakhs, in Greek Βλάχοι or Βλαχιώταις, occupied so large a portion of *Thessaly* about the twelfth century, that the whole country was commonly known by the name of Μεγάλη Βλαχία, or Great Wallachia. But it is the tradition of Kalarýtes, that the Vlakhiotes have not been settled in this part of Pindus more than 250 years, which is very credible, as it is not likely that they quitted the more fertile parts of Thessaly until they felt the oppression of the Turkish conquerors, and their inability to resist it. The removal has not been unfortunate, for their descendants have thereby enjoyed a degree of repose, and have obtained advantages which their former situation could hardly have admitted. They began by carrying to Italy the woollen cloaks, called Cappe, which are made in these mountains, and much used in Italy and Spain, as well as by the Greeks themselves. This opened the route to a more extended commerce: they now share with the Greeks in the valuable trade of

[1] Καλαρύταις, Ἀκαλαρρύταις. Συράκω, Σερράκου.

colonial produce between Spain or Malta and Turkey, and many are owners of both ship and cargo. The wealthier inhabitants are merchants, who have resided abroad many years in Italy, Spain, or the dominions of Austria or Russia, and who, after a long absence, return with the fruits of their industry to their native towns, which they thus enrich, and, in some degree, civilize. But they seldom return for permanent residence till late in life, being satisfied in the interval with two or three short visits. The middle classes pursue a similar course; but as their traffic seldom carries them so far from home as the higher order of merchants, they return more frequently, and many of them spend a part of every summer in their native place. These are chiefly shopkeepers in the towns of Turkey, or artisans, of whom the most numerous are tailors, and workers in gold, silver, and copper. They excel in mounting pistols and musquets in the Albanian taste, in making flisáns or silver coffee cups, and in embroidering Albanian dresses. The poorer householders are chiefly carriers or shepherds. At Syráko are a few goldsmiths, who work chiefly at Prévyza and Lefkádha; but there the great body of the people are owners of sheep, shepherds, or carriers. The gardens, and the small quantity of arable land which surrounds these towns, are chiefly cultivated by the women, who reap the harvest as well as perform all the household work, and spin. Heraclides Ponticus remarks, that in Athamania the men tend the flocks, and the women till the

ground[1]; and we are here, if not in Athamania, at least very near it, and in a country altogether similar.

As some of the retired merchants have houses at Ioánnina, and the shepherds drive their flocks in that season to the plains and maritime districts, Kalarýtes in that season is chiefly inhabited by women, children, and priests; and as the snow lies sometimes five months in the town, or at no great distance from it, there is little communication with the surrounding country, and it is customary for every family to lay in a winter provision of rice, flour, oil, saltfish, and firewood.

Kalarýtes and Syráko contain between five and six thousand souls, besides those who are abroad, amounting to about a tenth of the population. Each town has its iatrós, or medical attendant, receiving a fixed salary from the public, and its dháskalo, or master of literal Greek; but the latter teaches scarcely any thing more than the rudiments of the language, the illiterate parents taking little interest in a proficiency, which seems to them unnecessary, unless their children are destined to the priesthood; in fact, it adds little to their prospect of success in life.

The lower classes of Kalarýtes (and the same is said to occur in all the villages of these mountains) preserve, in a remarkable manner, the ancient spirit of independence for which the Greeks were

[1] Ἐν τῇ Ἀθαμάνων χώρᾳ γεωργοῦσι μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, νέμουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες. Heracl. Pont. in Ἀθαμάνων.

so remarkable. They will not easily submit to be household servants: and heads of families, who have not been abroad, are generally served by their wives and daughters; those who have been accustomed to different fashions abroad generally take servants from Ioánnina or Tríkkala. A Corfiote, who came to establish himself here as physician, could not for a long time procure any one to wait upon him, because he made use of a bell, which they said was fit only for sheep and goats. On the other hand their wives are perfect slaves.

As a community, their peaceable pursuits have been adverse to their retention of that independence which their ancestors conquered and long enjoyed in Northern Greece, and to which their almost inaccessible retreat in this part of Mount Pindus would have been extremely favourable, had they been as martial a people as many of the Greek and Albanian mountaineers. But they have made little or no resistance to Alý Pashá, who has been inclined to treat them with lenity, as well from that circumstance, as because the revenue of Kalarýtes, and of some of the other principal towns, is an appanage of the Validé Sultán, who with her kiayá still enjoys great power at the supreme court. Alý regularly accounts, therefore, for the dues to the imperial treasury, and has hitherto endeavoured to avoid all flagrant cause of complaint from the rayáhs of these places. The conquest of Suli, however, has of late rendered him bolder, and the people now complain of the angária, or gratuitous labour of men and horses, for which they have often been called upon

since the Pashá began to build the castle of Kiáfa. The 14,000 piastres, which was formerly the amount of the contributions of Kalarýtes, have gradually been raised to 45,000, and the town has been lately obliged to increase its public debt by 100 purses, which they have borrowed from Turks of Ioánnina at an interest of 15 per cent. My host informs me that he pays 170 piastres a year, equal to 12*l.* or 13*l.* sterling, in direct contributions.

The corn-fields of Kalarýtes, which are chiefly on the northern and eastern sides of the town, and on the face of the opposite mountain in that direction, produce a sufficiency of wheat in favourable years for about four months' consumption. In the present year the harvest has been very bad, and has scarcely returned double the seed. It is a bearded wheat, with short straw, and makes excellent bread. They are supplied with maize, wine, and oil, from Arta, wheaten flour from Tríkkala, and a few articles, chiefly European, from Ioánnina. Some of the narrowest terraces and most stony soils are grown with vines: grapes, apples, and pot-herbs are the principal produce of the gardens. For these and a few ordinary commodities and manufactures from Ioánnina, they have a market on Thursdays and Saturdays, which is attended from some of the nearest villages. The surrounding mountains furnish an excellent pasture for sheep in summer, and large flocks are here tended by Vlakhiote shepherds during that season.

Such is the steepness of the hill of Kalarýtes,

that the topmost houses are at least 500 feet higher than the lowest, and the vertical streets of the town are mere zigzag paths formed into steps. On the southern side, by which we approached the town, the position terminates in a tremendous precipice, the summit of which is so near to the church of St. George, on the opposite ridge, that words may be heard from the one place to the other; and the first intelligence is constantly communicated in this manner, on the arrival of passengers or caravans from Ioánnina, which in winter are sometimes arrested there by a sudden fall of snow for several days. It is curious to remark with how much ease this τηλολαλία or distant conversation is carried on. It is an art which, as well as that of τηλοσκοπία, or of distinguishing distant objects, is possessed by the Albanians and mountaineers of Greece in a degree which seems wonderful to those who have never been required to exercise their ears, eyes, and voices to the same extent. The same qualities were among the accomplishments of the heroic ages of Greece, the manners and peculiarities of which have never been extinct in the mountainous and more independent districts of this country.

The houses of Kalarýtes are all on a small plan, but generally neat, well arranged, and well furnished, according to Greek ideas of convenience. The hanging gardens which separate them are watered by streams from numerous fountains, supplying every part of the town with a cold and pure water, of which the Kalarytiotes are justly

proud. The roofs of the houses are covered like those of Greek mountain-villages in general, with πλάκαις, or large slabs of a limestone, which readily splits into this form. These are squared more or less accurately according to the opulence of the owner, and in addition to other fastenings, generally require large masses of stone to be laid upon them, in order to obtain increased resistance to the furious winds which prevail in this elevated situation, and which in the winter often unroof the houses in spite of all precautions. Every dwelling of the better kind has a χειμονικὸν, or winter apartment, in the lower story; above which is the principal chamber of reception, generally fitted with windows of coarse Venetian glass, but otherwise constructed and fitted up in that Turkish style which is so little adapted to the climate of these mountains.

The language of the Vlakhiote towns of *Pindus* differs very slightly from that of Wallachia, and contains consequently many Latin words, derived from the Roman colonists of Dacia. At Kalarýtes all the men speak Greek, and many of the women; but the Wlakh is the common language both in the towns and among the shepherds. The Latin words are not so numerous as in Italian or Spanish, but the flexions and the auxiliary verbs, in some of their forms, are less changed than in any of the daughters of the Latin. The Greeks give the following expression as an example of the *vocality* of the Wlakh, a characteristic in which the Greek itself is not deficient:

οάο, αué, οί, αuά [1],
αὐγὰ, σταφύλια, πρόβατα, ἐδῶ.

With the aid of these words, a party of Albanian or Greek palikária may order their dinners on arriving at a Vlakhiote village.

On the north-eastern side of Kalarýtes, a long declivity, which contains the greater part of the cultivable land belonging to the town, falls to a torrent, the middle one of the three tributaries already described, as forming one of the branches of the Arta. On the lowest part of the slope, on the bank of the river, stood the Hellenic town which possessed this secluded district. The ruins are in no part extant to any great height, though almost the entire circuit is traceable, consisting of a loose ill-constructed kind of masonry, of the third kind, but containing a few large masses of stone. The site is covered with vineyards in terraces, at the back of which some high rocks were the upper limit of the town; from the opposite bank of the torrent rises abruptly a rocky height, on the other side of which is Matzúki. A little below the ruins are some mills; the view from the ancient site is extremely confined on every side, except down the river, where the opening shows woody slopes folding over one another, with the mountains near Arta in the distance. The place is called Vilizá, or Viglizá, a modification of the Romaic vigla, and like the Latin vigilo, from which

[1] The separate sound of each vowel is to be given, as in Italian, attending to the accent.

it is immediately derived, may be traced to the same root as the Hellenic synonym Phyle.

The former state of the district of Kalarýtes is preserved in the following proverb: *κάστρον* Βηλιζὰ, *χωρίον* Ματζύκι, Ἀκυλαρρύταις *μαχαλὰ*, *καὶ* Συράκω *πεντεσπήτια*, meaning that formerly Vilizá was the fortress, Matzúki the town, Akalarrýtes an outlying quarter of the town, and Syráko a little detached hamlet. But such is the change, that there are now 500 houses in each of the two last places, and in Matzúki only 25. Some years ago (it was before Alý Pashá gained Ioánnina) there were 40 Turkish families at Kalarýtes, but such was the influence of the Christians at that time with the Validé, that the Turks were removed to Vendísta, on the opposite side of the Aspro.

It may be remarked in every part of Greece, that whenever circumstances, which are often occurring, though they are seldom very permanent, favour the industry and security of the Greeks in any particular place, and enable them to acquire some degree of comfort and opulence, they are never slow in tempting their tyrants to plunder them, by their imprudence and vanity, or by their envious and contentious disposition. The Vlakhiotes, who with less native acuteness than the Greeks, are endowed with more steadiness, prudence, and perseverance, are nevertheless like all republicans, (for such they may be styled, as well as the Greeks of the Eleftherokhória, notwithstanding the despotism of the supreme government) seldom free from intestine intrigues and divisions.

The Pashá takes care to be well informed of the local politics, and allows no good opportunity to escape of turning these, or any other accidental circumstances to his own purposes. Not long since, on discovering that G. T., one of the leading citizens, had lent a large sum to the town and was in great want of a repayment, which the town could not conveniently make ; the Pashá offered T. his interference, on condition of his having a large share. Not many years ago, the Kalarýtiotes were moved with the desire of having bells to some of their churches, one of the attributes of the temples of the Oriental Christians, of which, because forbidden by the Turks, they are particularly proud. Alý, though generally very indulgent on the subject of building and repairing churches, did not omit so good an opportunity of making the Kalarytiotes pay for their vanity, and exacted 15,000 piastres from them for the permission to have bells.

Aug. 12.—At 4.30 this afternoon, I set out, in company with Messrs. John and David Morier, with the intention of climbing to the summit of the peak of Mount *Pindus*, called Kakardhítza, or Kakardhísta[1], which bears S.E. from Kalarýtes, and has the appearance of being the highest point

[1] These two terminations are generally convertible: the first was unknown in Hellenic, and has been adopted by the modern Greeks, from the Sclavonic *tsh*, which pronunciation it generally has. The latter termination was common in the northern parts of Greece, in gentile adjectives, as, Orestæ, Lyncestæ.

in the whole range. Descending into the ravine of the torrent of Vilizá, we cross it at some mills a little below the Paleá Khora, or ruins before described. One of these mills is for corn, and another for fulling the skutí, or cloth for making the cloaks called Κάπαις, the chief manufacture of the Vlakhiotes. The torrent, bridge, and buildings, overhung by precipices, form a beautiful piece of mountain scenery. We cross the ridge which lies between the river of Vilizá and Matzúki by a tedious zigzag ascent and descent, and arrive, in 1.45 from Kalarýtes, at Matzúki, which is situated in a hollow immediately at the foot of Kakardhísta, where a torrent collected from the great summits around, rattles along the ravine, and proceeds to join the streams from Vilizá, Kalarýtes, and Syráko. At the back of the village, towards the north-east, rises the steep ridge which connects Kakardhísta with the summits towards Métzovo, called Peristéri and Tzikuréla: like all the others, it is a white bare mass of limestone. The houses of Matzúki belong chiefly to persons, who keep shops for the sale of capots and a few of the other productions of Greece, in the islands of the Adriatic and Ionian seas, or in the maritime towns of Italy. The two most opulent of their traders are settled at Corfú. Very few of the men are now in the village. Those who reside are employed in the manufacture of capots, or as carriers with their mules, or in cultivating a few χωράφια, or fields of corn and maize, on the mountain side, or in the care of sheep and goats. The person of whom I have hired a mule for the

expedition, who brought it to Kalarýtes, and accompanied me on foot, kept a shop for capots, and other commodities, during seven years at Cadiz, and for another three years at Leghorn. He was at Rome when the French entered it the first time. Most of these people, as may be supposed, speak Italian. They ascribe the ruin of their town to the quartering of Albanian soldiers; the place being more accessible to this pestilence, than Kalarýtes and Syráko. The annual contributions of the village amount to 9000 piastres, of which 6000 are paid to Alý Pashá, 500 to the Turkish Subáshi for staying away, and the rest for the interest of money borrowed by the village, and other local charges. The burthen to each house increases with the diminution of the population: so that one of the proprietors of our mules has paid this year, as the head of a family, 110 Spanish dollars, or more than twice as much as some of the larger householders at Kalarýtes, and has been obliged to borrow the money at Ioánnina, at twenty per cent. interest. Beldáni, who was made tutor to the Emperor Alexander, and his brother Constantine, by the Empress Catharine, was a native of Matzúki. He was a poor merchant at Leghorn when Alexis Orloff took him into his service, and carried him to St. Petersburg. Our hosts of the poor cottage in which we lodge, priding themselves on being μεσοφράγκοι, or half Franks in their manners, endeavour to prove it by giving us a covered table at supper, with plates, knives and forks. At 2 in the morning we set out to scale the mountain.

August 13.—The ascent being very rugged, our progress is slow; the route crosses many small torrents, which flow to the right into a ravine, lying between this mountain and the pine-covered peak conspicuous from Kalarýtes, which connects at its southern extremity Kakardhísta with Tzumérka. At 4.30 the road being no longer practicable for mules, we mount on foot, during another hour, by a very steep ascent, where loose stones and earth, or grass dripping with dew, carry the feet half way back at every step. Towards the summit are some deep patches of snow, and a hoar frost on the grass. At a few minutes after sunrise we reach the highest point.

To the east the view is rendered indistinct by the sun being in that direction, and by an atmosphere not perfectly clear. There is a haze likewise over the sea on the opposite side; but this is the ordinary state of the atmosphere of Greece in the middle of summer, and a clear day in winter is much more favourable for obtaining a sight of distant objects. Nevertheless we distinguish Corfú, Cefalonia, and Mount Voidhiá in the Moréa. To the north, Mount Tomór, and the summits between it and Bitólia, are seen, particularly a peak between Kastoría and Filúrina, to the right of which are those more eastward, towards Vodhená and Vérria. The horizontal arch between N.E. and S. is bounded by *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelion*, *Othrys*, and the mountains of *Ætolia*, of which latter the peaks called Velúkhi and Viéna are the most conspicuous. The remotest point which I can recognize is Voidhiá, or *Panachaicum*, in the

Moréa; the direct distance of which is about 100 geographical miles. The ridges along the western coast from Xerómero to Khimára, are naturally much more distinct. To the north-west the geography of the valleys of the Upper *Aous*, in which Arghyrókastro, Tepeléni, Premedí and Kónitza are situated, is well defined, though none of those places are distinguishable. Immediately below us, to the east, are the mountains of Aspropótamo, a confused mass, resembling the waves of a stormy sea; and to the right, those of 'Agrafa, of the same description: the highest summit of the former is nearly in a line with *Pelium*. *Olympus* has the appearance of being the highest point in sight. Of those in the *Pindian* ridge, none seems to rival Kakardhísta, unless it be a summit near Samarína. Its height above the sea is probably about 7000 feet.

A great part of the course of the Aspro or *Achelous* is traceable from Kakardhísta, though the river cannot be distinguished in consequence of the depth of the valleys in which it is encased, or the haziness of the atmosphere hanging over them. Its reputed sources are at Khalíki, a Vlakhiote village of 200 houses, situated midway between Kalarýtes and Métzovo, on the south-eastern side of Mount Tzikuréla, but not in sight from hence. As the name Khalíki, which is not uncommon in Greece, is generally a corruption of the Hellenic Χαλκὶς, indicating the former existence of a *Chalcis* in the same place, it serves, in the present instance, to illustrate an hitherto unexplained passage of

Dionysius the geographer, in which he evidently intended to remark that the Achelous rose at Chalcis [1]. After receiving several streams from the mountains around Khalíki, the river follows the narrow ravines included between the summits in the district of Aspropótamo, and those of Kakarhista, Tzumérka, and Radhovísi. On the slope of one of the mountains in the last-mentioned subdistrict of Arta, are seen the lands of Vrestenítza above the right bank of the river, near the bridge of Koráki, which is in the road from Arta to Tríkkala, through 'Agrafa. From thence the Aspro flows for about 20 miles through a country, in which the great summits are more distant on either side, after which it again skirts the foot of a lofty rock of the Tzumérka chain, which is named Kalána, and is a conspicuous object from Prévyza. Here the river is again crossed by a bridge, called that of Tetárna, from a monastery on the left, and a few miles lower is joined by its principal tributary. The united stream then passes between perpendicular rocks into a country of woody heights, of secondary elevation, until it emerges near the ruins of *Stratus* into the great *Ætolian* plain. In almost every direction the mountains hide the valleys; Kakardhísta being in the centre of the most mountainous part of Greece. The only plain in sight is that of Ioánnina, with a small portion of that of Tríkkala: Ioánnina is the only town. The immense preci-

[1] . . . . . ὅσσας τ' ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος ἕρπων
Δίνῃς ἀργυρέῃς Ἀχελώϊος ἀμφὶς ἑλίσσει.
Dionys. Perieg. v. 496.

pices of Tzumérka appear considerably below us: they hide Arta and all the Gulf, except a small part of its eastern extremity near Makrinóro, which makes its appearance between Tzumérka and Sakarétzi, as the mountain of Radhovísi is named.

Kakardhísta is quite bare of trees or shrubs, but furnishes a fine short herbage to the very summit. A sharp rocky ridge, which connects it with the peak of Peristéri, separates the course of the waters flowing respectively to the Arta and to the Aspro, and divides the district of Malakássi in the kazá of Ioánnina from that of Aspropótamo in Tríkkala. The latter sub-district extends fifty miles down the river from its sources, comprehending the sides of the adjacent mountain on either side, and separating first Ioánnina and then Arta from 'Agrafa. The right of pasturage is so accurately defined between Ioánnina and Aspropótamo, that the flocks of one district are not allowed to enter the other. Kakardhísta itself falls steeply into a deep ravine which lies between it and another lower but abrupt and rocky crest, which slopes to the Aspró.

We descend to a mandra, or sheep-fold, supported on each side by one of the palikária, who have accompanied us from Kalarýtes; and who, though with daggers and pistols at their girdles, and a musket slung over their shoulders, never make a false step, though bearing the weight of another person. Some goat's milk, with bread which we brought with us, furnishes our breakfast. The annual profit of a yew in these mountains is reckoned as follows: two piastres for the cheese

and milk, four piastres for the lamb, and half a piastre for the wool; out of which there is a clear gain of five piastres. From the mandra we reach Matzúki in two hours, leave it at 5 P.M., and in two hours and a half return to Kalarýtes. So steep is the northern side of the hill of Matzúki, that it takes longer to descend than it had required yesterday to mount it.

The shepherds of these mountains, as well as those who tend their flocks around Ioánnina, play on a pipe (in Greek φλογέρα, in Albanian fuol), which resembles that described by Theocritus, inasmuch as it has nine holes on the side, and is partly closed at either end with wax [1]. But some of the modern pipes of Epirus have a singularity which has not been noticed by any author, being made of the thigh of the vulture [2], or of the eagle [3], which are bones of extreme hardness, and of a size well adapted to a shepherd's pipe. These materials may be more common now than anciently, because gunpowder has given the moderns the power of bringing down such birds more easily than could formerly have been done by means of arrows. In the mountain pastures in every part of Greece, the shepherds may be heard, as the same poet has described, pouring forth a wild melodious strain from their pipes, amidst the murmuring of the waters, and the whispering of the wind through the

[1] σύριγγ' ἔχω ἐννεάφωνον
Λευκὸν καρὸν ἔχοισαν ἴσον κάτω, ἴσον ἄνωθεν.
Theocr. Id. 8, v. 18, 21.

[2] ὀρνεα. [3] ἀετός.

trees. Theocritus has particularly referred to the pine as producing this sound[1]. And the pine is doubtless the most psithyristic of trees. It is surprising that he has not noticed also the aromatic odour which emanates from it in summer.

Aug. 31.—Leaving Ioánnina this forenoon for Grevená, I follow the causeway between the lake and the foot of the hill of Kastrítza, and having crossed the plain of Barkumádhi, arrive in two hours at the khan of Ardhomísta, near the foot of Mount Dhrysko. The plain is covered with maize and melons, of both which the harvest is near at hand. After resting an hour and a half, we quit the khan, ascend in three quarters of an hour the ridge of Dhrysko, and in another quarter arrive at the khan of that name on the eastern face of the mountain, which is a continuation of Mount Mitzikéli, and derived, undoubtedly, its name[2] from the oaks still growing here, and which anciently may have been larger and more numerous than they are now. The khan seems to have been placed here for the sake of a copious source of water, which the tatár, who accompanies me, and who has had long experience, declares to be the best between Ioánnina and Constantinople. One of his corps brought letters a few days ago from

[1] Ἁδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα, καὶ ἁ πίτυς, αἰπόλε, τήνα,
Ἃ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τὺ
Συρίσδες.

Theocr. Id. 1. v. 1.

[2] Δρύσκος, a place of oaks, or by abbreviation perhaps from δρύσκιος shaded with oaks.

Constantinople in four days and a half: thus performing two hundred computed hours, or six hundred miles of road distance, in one hundred and eight hours, including stoppages. To be appointed to such a journey as mine, is to be well paid for a comparative state of repose, and is considered, therefore, as a favour conferred upon the tatár by the Pashá.

After a twenty minutes' halt we continue our descent, and in another twenty minutes arrive at the junction of the two great branches of the Arta: one flowing from Zagóri, the other from Métzovo. The place and neighbouring valley are hence named Dhipótamo. A bridge of three arches, called the Lady's Bridge [1], crosses the Zagóri branch, which is the larger of the two, and is composed of a great number of streams collected in the hollow between Mount Mitzikéli and the parallel higher range, or central ridge of *Pindus*. On the side of the mountain of Syráko, above Dhipótamo, stands the village of Gótzista, divided into two makhalás, and surrounded with cultivated slopes. A point above it, which is separated by a ravine from the great mountain, is the site of a Hellenic fortress or fortified *come*, the walls of which inclose the summit and face of the hill.

In winter the road, after crossing the bridge, follows the right bank of the river of Métzovo. Instead of crossing the bridge, we ford the united stream, and then ride along the bed of the Métzovo branch, which, though con-

[1] τὸ γεφύρι τῆς κυρᾶς.

sisting entirely of loose stones, is a saving in time, the line being shorter than along the ἄκραις, or rugged banks. Occasionally, however, we cross some of the akres. Like all the roots of the mountains bordering these valleys, they are covered with small oak, ilex, pirnári, and a variety of shrubs, among which the lentisk is the most common. At 6 we arrive at a half-built kula of the Pashá, on the right bank of the river, where are a few fields of kalambókki. In winter, the road reaches this point from the bridge of the Lady, by crossing and recrossing two other intermediate bridges. On the heights to the left stands Khrysovítza, beautifully situated among the woods, and noted for its monastery of the Panaghía, whose festival on the 23d of August is resorted to by all the neighbourhood, particularly from Ioánnina. At 6.35 we halt for the night at the Three Khans [1], situated on a height overlooking the right bank of the river, in a part of the valley where its direction and that of the river change from about E.S.E. to E. by N. The three khans may possibly be the successors of three Roman taverns; for Tres Tabernæ is a name repeatedly occurring in the Roman itineraries; and although this road is not found in any of them, the general structure of the country is a sufficient proof that the pass of Métzovo was in all ages one of the chief thoroughfares of Northern Greece. The summit named Tzikuréla, or Tzukuréla, was immediately above us on the right, about half way

[1] τὰ Τρία Χάνια.

up the valley. To the north-eastward is the other peak, called Peristéri; beyond which is the summit above Khalíki, of the same height nearly as that of Syráko, and situated midway between Peristéri and the southern end of the Zygós of Métzovo. The hills around the Three Khans are covered with vineyards and wood. At less than a mile beyond them, at the head of a slope of vineyards reaching to the river, is the village of Vutinós, and on a height on one side of the vineyards some remains of ancient walls called Lakhanókastro. The masons of Métzovo resort to it for the sake of the tiles which they find there. It was perhaps a Roman military station, for the defence of the pass, which is here more open than in any other part.

Sept. 1.—Our route continues along the river's bed, crosses it several times, and at intervals passes over its woody and rocky banks by an execrable road. The village of Grevendísta is situated among some cultivated slopes on the side of the mountain to the right. In seventy minutes we cross to the right bank by a bridge, a little above which is the junction of two branches of the river, one coming from Métzovo, the other from a valley to the right, in the direction of the mountain of Khalíki, which thus gives rise both to the *Arachthus* and *Achelous*. We ascend along the side of the mountain which overhangs the right bank of the Métzovo branch of the river, and at 8 A.M., in two hours from the khans, arrive at the northern and larger of the two makhalás, into which Métzovo is divided by the ravine. The northern is

called Prosílio[1], as being exposed to the sun, while the southern being shaded by the mountain on which it stands, is named Anílio[2]. The road to Tríkkala passes through the latter, and then ascends the Zygós[3], or ridge, as a long woody mountain is named which has a north and south direction, and which separates the sources of the *Arachthus* from those of the *Peneius*, connecting Kakardhísta and the ridge of Syráko with the Zagóri summits and those near Kónitza and Samarína. The streams descending from the western slope of the Zygós, are the principal feeders of the torrent which separates the two makhaládhes, of Métzovo, and which we followed from the bridge. There are about seven hundred houses in the two divisions of the town, which, together with Malakássi, a village on the eastern side of the Zygós, and two others is an appanage of the Validé Sultán. Formerly, in consideration of the expenses to which the Metzovites were subject from the passage of soldiers and travellers, they were liable only to the Kharádj, and to the payment of five thousand piastres a year to the Validé's agent, for which advantage they were bound to ensure the safety of the Pass, and to maintain a body of armatolí under a captain. The Vezír, by paying a larger sum to the Validé than she before received, has obtained the Mukatá, and exacts from the Metzovites fifty-five purses, besides obliging them to maintain an Albanian guard, nominated

[1] πρὸς ἥλιον.
[2] ἀνήλιον.
[3] ὁ Ζυγός.

by himself. The adjoining slopes produce wheat, barley, and rye; but the wheat is not more than enough for the consumption of a month or two, and the barley still more insufficient, on account of the demand of passengers for their cattle. They have some large flocks of sheep and goats; but the greater part of the men, as in the other mountain villages on the borders of Epirus and Thessaly, seek their fortunes as labourers, artizans, and shopkeepers, in other parts of Turkey, or as merchants in Germany, Hungary, Russia, or the Mediterranean. Those who are not too distant, visit their families for a short time in the summer. The climate, in winter, is described as more severe even than that of Kalarýtes.

At 2.25 we quit Prosílio, and mounting the hill for half an hour, arrive in a plain called Politzía, inclosed between the heights of Métzovo and Mavro-vúni, which is a long mountain covered with pines, lying in a north and south direction, and forming a northerly continuation of the Zygós. On its slope near the plain is a place called by the Vlákhi Beratóri, a name supposed to be a corruption of Imperatoria. Wrought stones, coins, and similar remains of antiquity, are found there, as well as appearances indicative of some process of metallurgy having been carried on in the place. These vestiges, combined with the name, seem to show that a Roman settlement existed here earlier than that of the *Dacian* or Vlakhiote colonists, whose descendants now occupy these mountains. On the opposite side of the plain to Beratóri stands a beech-tree, called in the Vlakhiote tongue Fago

scripto, from some appearance of inscriptions on it. The plain produces in summer some rye, and a great abundance of excellent grass, all which is consumed by the cattle of Métzovo or those of passengers. During the remainder of the year the plain is either covered with snow or is in a state of marsh. There are no sheep or cattle upon it, though it is now dry ; the soil apparently is good. The small streams which water it flow to the north, through the district of Zagóri, towards Kónitza, and are therefore the extreme tributaries of the *Aous*.

Having traversed the plain for an hour, we ascend a ridge connected with the northern end of Mavro-vúni, and covered towards the summit with pines [1], and at 4.30 arrive at the guard of the Tjankúrtara dervéni, after having passed a large khan of that name a little below the summit of the pass. At the dervéni there is nothing but a temporary shed. Here the mountains Mitzikéli and Olýtzika are seen in one direction, and in the other Mount Búrino, with the mountain of Siátista to the left of it, and nearer the lower hills about Grevená. After a halt of fifteen minutes we descend from the dervéni through a dense forest of large pines, remarkable for the straightness of their stems. On the ascent where the trees are not so close, some of them are fifteen feet in circumference, and sixty or eighty feet high : several of them have been struck with lightning, and are burnt at the top.

[1] πεῦκοι. This word is applied by the Greeks to the pinus sylvestris as well as the maritima.

There is reason to believe from Livy, following Polybius, that this part of Mount Pindus bore the appellation of Citium, probably from a town of that name which stood in some part of the pass leading from Grevená to Ioánnina. Mount Citium is mentioned by the historian in his relation of the expedition of Perseus, when he led an army of ten thousand infantry and three hundred horse to Stratus, in the winter of the year 170—169 B. C. On the third day from Elimeia, he reached Mount Citium, where he was much impeded by the deep snow, and with difficulty found sufficient space for encamping. The fourth day, in which his beasts of burthen particularly suffered, terminated at a temple of Jupiter Nicæus; and the fifth, which was a very long march, at the Arachthus, where he was detained by the swollen state of the river until he had constructed a bridge. At the end of one day's march from thence he was met by Archidamus, the strategus of the Ætolians, halted on the borders of Ætolia, and on the following day encamped on the Achelous, near Stratus[1]. Perseus appears to have marched through Epirus because the Molossi[2] had invited him, and because the Athamanes, who were on the more direct route, were in alliance with the Romans. As it is evident

[1] Liv. l. 43, c. 21.

[2] "Vocantibus Epirotis," is all that Livy says; but Molossis was the only part of Epirus which it was necessary for Perseus to enter; the Thesproti were at that moment auxiliaries of Appius Claudius before Phanote; and the Molossi resisted the Romans to the last: these therefore were clearly the Epirotes intended by Livy.

that he descended upon the right bank of the Arachthus, since otherwise there would have been no necessity for crossing it; and as he made only two marches from his bridge to Stratus, there can be little doubt that he crossed the river not far above Arta, and that his route from Mount Citium was either through Zagóri into the plain of Ioánnina, or through the same district in a more southern direction to Mount Dhrysko, the site perhaps of *Nicæum*, and from thence by the Tomarokhória. In either case it follows, from the geographical construction of the country, that during the long march terminating on the right bank of the Arachthus, he pursued the course of that river, and during all that day perhaps was seeking for a passage. He then, probably, passed through the modern Rhadhovísi to the *Achelous*, or by the valley of Kombóti into that of the *Petitarus*, but avoiding Ambracia, which was in the hands of the Romans.

After following for half an hour a small river, we arrive, at 5.40, at Miliá, a Vlakhiote village of forty families, situated in the midst of the forest, on the bank of the stream. A few corn and maize-fields dispersed on the hills around, and several mills on the river side, are all the property of the village, except the cattle, which they employ as carriers. We halt ten minutes, and then follow a good horse-path along the banks of the same stream, in a ravine bordered by a continued forest of pines; and at 7.20 quit the river, which here turns to the left of our route in a northerly direction along the foot of a ridge, which is thickly

covered with pines, mixed occasionally with beeches and a few horsechestnuts. The numerous small caravans which we meet, show that this is one of the great lines of traffic between *Epirus* and *Macedonia*. At 7.30 we arrive at Kraniá, a Vlakhiote village of fifty neat cottages, pleasantly situated in an opening of the forest, amidst fields of maize and other corn, fenced with a well-made palisading. The scene has an appearance of comfort and successful industry seldom seen in Greek or Turkish villages: but, unhappily for these poor Vlakhiotes, their village has lately become one of Alý Pashá's tjiftlíks. The corn, after deducting the Vezír's portion, suffices only for a small part of the consumption of the inhabitants, whose means of subsistence are chiefly derived from the cheese of their sheep and goats; from the wood which they cut in the forest and transport to Ioánnina and other towns; and from the profit of their horses and mules, which are let to traders and travellers. The master of the house in which I lodge, who possesses two horses and two oxen, formerly kept a shop at Smyrna, Constantinople, and Saloníka; and now employs himself in transporting wood to Ioánnina, Grevená, Lárissa, and Tríkkala, by which he is just able to pay the twenty per cent. interest on the money he has been obliged to borrow.

Sept. 2.—This morning we arrive in half an hour at the summit of a ridge facing Kraniá to the eastward, just as the sun is rising behind the *broad Olympus*, as Homer so properly describes that mountain. The range which unites it with *Pindus*,

and at the foot of which are the towns of Siátista and Kastoría, is seen stretching from *Olympus* to the north-westward. Our road is well beaten, and winds agreeably through a forest of pines and oaks, gradually descending until at the end of one hour and fifty minutes from Kraniá we pass, at 7.30, through Kieperó, one of the small Vlakhiote villages, of which we have seen several on either side of our road. At Kieperó men and women are employed in threshing rye [1], by driving a sledge with one man standing upon it, round the threshing-floor. The huts of the Vlakhiotes are well built, and neatly plastered with earth: and to the traveller afford better shelter than the cottages of a similar class among the Greeks and Albanians, the inner apartment being well protected against cold and rain in winter, and most of the cottages having a gallery in front, closed at either end; which is not too cool for a lodging in the fine season, when the inner part of every house, not excepting those of the Vlakhi, swarms with vermin.

From Kieperó, having descended rapidly the roots of the mountain where fields of corn and vines, fenced with pallisades, are intermixed with woods consisting of oaks of various kinds, and where the soil, like this side of Mount *Pindus* in general, seems capable of a productive cultivation, we arrive at 8.40 at the junction of two rivers. The larger is that which we followed down the vale of Miliá, and left at Kraniá, taking there a turn to the left of our route; the other proceeds

[1] σεκάλη.

from the woody sides of *Pindus* on our right to the southward. A little below the junction a bridge crosses the united stream, which then flows eastward over a rocky bed of limestone, composed of thin flakes lying vertical to the horizon, along a valley closely bounded by undulated downs, like those which border the *Orontes* near Hama, but with banks not so high. Though now shallow, the river is wide, and in winter impetuous. It is called Venetikó. We follow the right bank for a short distance under a woody hill, then pass below a height of bare rock washed by the river, and afterwards along a narrow vale which is grown with stunted oaks and wild pears, and is bounded by woody hills, or irregular downs of fine corn land, a description of country which continues to a considerable distance below Grevenó. At 9 we halt at the Khan of Venetikó, which has lately been built at the expense of a Tutunjí, or smoke-master, of the Vezír, and stands on the river-side at a fountain of excellent water, issuing out of the side of the hill. The charge for eggs, butter, melons, water-melons, bread, salt, red pepper, and brandy, is about sixpence a head, which I have some difficulty in persuading my tatár is not unreasonable.

Departing at 10.15, we cross the river, and having followed its left bank for a quarter of an hour, traverse some downs to a much smaller stream, which, having also crossed, we immediately ascend, at 11.30, to the Metropolis of the bishopric of Grevená[1], where stand the cathedral

[1] ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Γρεβενῶν.

church and palace of the bishop, surrounded by twenty Greek houses. The bishop I left at Ioánnina. The Turkish Makhalá of Grevenó is a mile distant to the north-eastward, and though it contains only eighty families, is the chief place of Grevená which in the plural number comprehends a great number of small Turkish villages and tjiftlíks. The country resembles Northern Europe more than Epirus or the other parts of Greece, consisting of an undulated surface, well supplied with sources of water, intersected by numerous streams, and diversified with beautiful groves of oak and other timber trees. Nor is the soil inferior to the aspect, but would produce corn in great abundance, if population and security were here in any moderate proportion to natural advantages. The many πράγματα φορτώμενα, or loaded horses and mules, which we have met on the road from Métzovo, and the far greater part of which were charged with flour, show that even now it supplies Epirus and the islands with bread.

The Venetikó and river of Grevenó join the Vistrítza, separately, to the eastward near the foot of Mount Búrino; after which the united river winds round the southern extremity of that mountain to Sérvia, and having passed that town, flows northward through narrow valleys and deep chasms in the great *Olympian* range, until it emerges near *Berrhœa*, which town still preserves its ancient name. There can be no doubt that this great river, which the Turks call Injé-kará-su, is the ancient Haliacmon.

The largest villages in the district of Grevená

are Avdhéla and Perivólio, inhabited by Vlakhiotes, and each consisting of about 300 houses. They stand near each other on the eastern side of the great ridge to the W.S.W. of Grevenó, whence proceeds one of the branches of the Venétiko, which is joined before it enters the plains by those from Spilió and Kraniá. The Turks of Grevená occupy, as usual, the lower and richer lands. The largest of their villages are Tjurkli and Krýftissa, not far from the river which separates the district of Grevená from that of Anaselítza. To the southward, towards Stagús, Grevená extends six hours over unproductive hills, where the villages are neither large nor numerous.

Sept. 4.—From Grevená to Siátista. At 6.35 we descend in a quarter of an hour from the Metropolis to the Musulman quarter, which has a ruinous and wretched appearance, like all the Turkish villages of Greece. After following the left bank of the river for a quarter of an hour, we turn to the left across an undulated country, intersected by narrow valleys, where the cultivated land is mixed with woods of oaks. Neither the olive nor the mulberry for the silkworm, are grown in this country, which produces scarcely any thing but grain and cattle, with a little wine; but carts, which are not to be met with in the great plains of Arta, Ioánnina, or Arghyrókastro, are used in agriculture; they are drawn by two oxen, run upon four solid trucks, and have a square space for the load, inclosed within wattled sides.

At 7.45 we pass to the left of the small Turkish

village of Kubla, and at 8.30, opposite to another similar hamlet called Dovrádo, we cross a small branch of the Vistrítza. From thence the road traverses a rich and pleasant country of the same description as before, but little cultivated, until at 9.30 we arrive at a khan, and a high narrow bridge of six arches called Pashá Kiúpri, which crosses the Vistrítza just at the point where, after having pursued an easterly course, it turns to the south along the foot of Mount Búrino.

At 10.15 we quit the khan, and ford the river a quarter of a mile above the bridge, then immediately leaving to the right the road to Venja and Sérvia, we ascend the slope of the mountain of Siátista, having the Turkish village Iánkovo a little on the left. An opening between the mountain of Siátista and Mount Búrino shows the mountain of Vérria, the ancient Bermius[1]. Soon afterwards we enter the vineyards of Siátista, and mounting a rocky hill, arrive at the principal makhalá called ἡ χώρα at 11.45. After some delay we are sent to the lower quarter, named γιεράνη, from whence I am conducted back again to the Khora, to the house of Kyr N., one of the archons, and nephew of the bishop of Siátista, whose ordinary residence is here, but who happens at present to be at Sélitza. His title is bishop of Sisanium and Sátista[2], the vulgar pronunciation of which is Shatsta. His superior is the archbishop of 'Akhridha.

The town, which contains about 500 houses, is

[1] Herodot. l. 8, c. 138. Strabo, p. 330.

[2] τοῦ Σισανίου καὶ τῆς Σατίστης, or Σιατίστης.

situated upon a narrow level, between the upper and lower heights of a high rocky mountain, at the foot of which extends a large tract of vineyards. From this fruit the Siatistans[1] make some of the best wine in Rumilí, and which has an extensive sale in *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, but is seldom sent into *Epirus*, on account of the difficulty of transport over the *Pindus*. The wine is of four sorts:—1. The ἡλιουμένον, or sun-dried[2], which is a mixture of white and red grapes, left for eight days in the sun, or for six weeks in a covered building, after which the produce is a white sweet wine, of strong body and high flavour. 2. A dry, white wine. 3. A dry, red wine. 4. The ἀψιθινὸν, or wine of Absinthium, which is made also in other parts of Greece, and is flavoured with a species of Artemisia, laid among the grapes when placed in the press. This wine is sweet and high flavoured, but not the better for the wormwood. The Siatistans keep their wines three, four, five years, and sometimes more. Each considerable proprietor has a wine-press, and there are cellars under all the larger houses, exhibiting the agreeable spectacle of butts arranged in order, as in civilized Europe. The most stony soils are held to produce the best wine. The grapes this year have not attained their full growth, in consequence of the want of rain, and the vintage, it is expected, will be small in quantity, though good in quality.

[1] οἱ Σιατιστάνοι.

[2] The Tuscan Aliatico seems to be the same word in the Æolic form, and in that of the adjective instead of the participle. It originated probably in the Greek colonies of Etruria.

I was not a little surprised to observe the proofs of drought in the appearance of the vineyards, the weather having been very different in Epirus. It shows the great atmospheric difference between the two sides of Mount *Pindus*. Besides their wine, the Siatistans have to boast of the excellence of their mutton, fed on the delicate herbage of their limestone mountain; and of an abundance of game. The hares are even troublesome, being so numerous, that when the snow lies upon the vineyards, as it often does in the winter for many days together, it is a common custom to go in pursuit of them without dogs, and to kill them with sticks, half famished as they then are, and unable to run. A little earlier in the season they afford good sport, and coursing is a common amusement of the Siatistans. Our mode of killing partridges on the wing they are not accustomed to, nor have I seen it in any part of Greece. The birds, indeed, which are all of the red-legged species, are larger, longer in their flight, and wilder than ours; and it is not very easy to shoot them. To catch them in nets is the common practice in Greece, but they are seldom seen for sale in the markets. They are more abundant however in Macedonia and Epirus than in Southern Greece.

Almost every family in Siátista has one member of it residing as a merchant in Italy, Hungary, Austria, or other parts of Germany, and there are few of the elders who have not spent ten or twelve years of their lives in one of those countries. German is of course very generally spoken, and Italian almost as much. The houses are convenient,

clean, and well furnished, and the people more curious in their tables than any I have met with in Greece. This, as the stipendiary physician of the place observes to me, is almost the only source of disease, so healthy is the air and situation. But they drink, he remarks, rather too much of their own good wine, of which one of his patients is an example, who is now dying of the effects of a fall from his horse, after an indulgence of that kind. This physician's name is Paul Renaud, son of a Frenchman, who was attached to the English Consulate at Zante. His brother is now French Commissaire in that island, and there was a third brother in the English East India service, who rose to be agent at Busra. All this, which I happened to know, was news to M. Paul, who, having written to his brothers some years ago and received no answer, had long been ignorant of the fate of them both.

The Siatistans complain bitterly of the oppressions of Alý Pashá. They say, that not contented with robbing those who have, he puts in prison those who have not, and thus succeeds sometimes in extracting money from their relatives.

The ordinary annual payments, regular and irregular, amount to five hundred purses, besides which the bishop makes the Vezír an annual offering of 4000 piastres, 2000 each half year. Such has been the practice for the last twelve years. Like the Kalarytiotes, the Siatistans have lately been obliged to supply workmen and horses for the castle of Suli. When Alý makes a tour round this part of his territory, he never fails

to visit this place. The Archons generally meet him in the plain, and offer perhaps twenty purses, begging him not to come into the town. He receives the present with smiles, promises that he will not put his friends to inconvenience, afterwards comes a little nearer, informs them that no provisions are to be had in the plain, and after being supplied upon the promise of not entering the town, quarters on them, in the course of a day or two more, with his whole suite, perhaps for several days, nor retires until he has received a fresh donation. In these *progresses* he expects something from every village, and will accept the smallest offerings from individuals. His sons in travelling fail not to follow so good an example. As he dares not exercise this kind of oppression in Albania, the districts on the eastern side of *Pindus* are the great sufferers; and neither pestilence nor famine are more dreaded by the poor natives than the arrival of those little scraps of coarse paper scrawled with a few Greek characters, and stamped with the well-known little seal which makes *Epirus, Thessaly*, and *Macedonia* tremble. Sometimes these papers contain a request, that in consequence of a momentary want of money, they will supply him with a few purses, and place them to his account, though he has never been known to admit of any deduction in consequence of these loans from the annual contributions. It is admitted, that sometimes the Pashá is supplied with a pretext for his extortions by the Greeks themselves, who have the folly to refer their quarrels to him. In these cases, after extorting something from both

parties, he commonly ends by sending his decision by some faithful servant, with an order that he shall receive 500 or 1000 piastres for his trouble in carrying the letter. This is generally some favourite Albanian, who, having been for several years employed in executing the Vezír's orders without reward, is at length recompensed in this manner at other people's expence. Not long ago the riches of a certain great cattle-feeder, brother-in-law of Kyr N., having excited the Pashá's avarice, was kept in prison until he had paid thirty purses, and was then obliged to feed his cattle in certain pastures of the Vezír's not far from Siátista, where His Highness hired thieves to carry off 2000 sheep. The usual mode of squeezing a rich man, is to send for him to Ioánnina, and put him in prison upon some pretended accusation. There are no means of avoiding the summons but by flight, which with a family is extremely difficult, as the Pashá generally takes care to keep a strict watch upon the motions of all the relatives of those who are known to possess property. Numerous emigrations have, nevertheless, taken place, in consequence of the late extension of Alý's power; and many of the merchants of Moskhópoli, Korytzá, Kastoría, Sélitza, Kózani, and Sérvia, instead of carrying on commerce as formerly with correspondents or relatives in Germany, or other parts of Europe, have withdrawn into those countries, while some have migrated to other parts of Turkey. The Osmanlís of *Thessaly* and *Macedonia* entertain as great a dread of Alý as the Greeks themselves, and perhaps a more keen hatred; because it is inflamed

by a consciousness of military inferiority. On the other hand, the Greeks of these countries are ready to admit that they are much more secure now from the lawless depredations and highway robberies of the Albanians than they were before the extension of Alý's power over these districts, when there was little safety in the roads; and when Siátista among other places had often to resist the organized attacks of Albanian freebooters made in great force. Hence the houses of the town have all been built with a view to defence as well as comfort. Each has its small garden, but which, from the deficiency of water, serves only to supply a few vegetables in the spring and early summer.

Sept. 5.—This forenoon, in company with Kyr N. and M. Renaud, I visit the Bogház, or Klisúra of Siátista, a remarkable pass, leading from the champaign country of the Injékara, or Vistrítza, into the plain of Saríghioli. The latter name is a Turkish word, meaning yellow lake; the common use of which by the Greeks in preference to their synonym λίμνη κιτρινὴ, shows that we here approach the limit of the general use of the Greek language. Saríghioli comprehends a large extent of level country, subject to inundations, one of which is in part permanent[1]. We were twenty

[1] It appears from Cantacuzenus, l. 4, c. 19, that there was a place called Σταρίδολα in this part of the country. May not the Turks in occupying it have converted the Greek word into a name of similar sound, bearing a particular meaning in their own language, and which was not inapplicable to the peculiarities of the district? We find in every country names corrupted by foreign settlers in this manner.

minutes in descending from Siátista through vineyards to the beginning of the pass, from whence in one hour and twenty minutes more we arrived at the end, where it opens into a plain which branches off to the left behind the mountain of Siátista, and from thence conducts into the district of Karianí, or Karaiánni, which, like Saríghioli and another named Djumá, to the eastward of the former and southward of the latter, is inhabited chiefly by Turks dispersed in many small villages. The whole of this champaign country is bounded eastward by a lofty range of mountains, branching northward from *Olympus*, and at the eastern foot of which stand the Greek towns of Vérria, Niáusta, and Vodhená, on the edge of the great plain of *Lower Macedonia*, which extends to Saloníki. Karaiánni is separated from Saríghioli by a ridge of inferior heights, and from the district of Kózani, which town is situated three or four hours eastward of the Klisúra, by other hills of greater elevation which branch from Mount Búrino.

The Klisúra of Siátista is a valley about a quarter of a mile in width, included between the mountain of Siátista, which is a high white naked rock, and another mountain to the south equally steep and lofty, but green with shrubs. The latter is called Tjervéna [1], and is connected to the southward with Búrino: it is noted among the sportsmen of Siátista for its abundance of partridges. The vale of Klisúra consists of open corn land, interspersed with wild pear-trees, which, though one of the

[1] Τζερβένα.

most common natives of Greece, are not indigenous here, but are planted by the peasants, to whom they are recommended by the toughness of the wood serving many useful purposes in agricultural machinery, and by the dense shade of the tree, which never grows to such a height or expansion as to injure the corn. The lands of Karaiánni and Siátista meet in the middle of the pass: near this spot stands the tomb of Selím Bey, of Monastír, who, after having been kept in prison at Ioánnina seven years by the Vezír, was at last dismissed with an appearance of friendship; but on his way home was strangled in his bed at Siátista by one of his own attendants. Having returned from the Klisúra to Siátista, I set out from thence at 4.15, with the same two gentlemen as companions, for Sélitza, which lies in the opposite direction to the Klisúra.

There are two Hellenic ruins near Siátista, one on the face of Mount Tjervéna, three quarters of an hour distant from the lower makhalá of Siátista, at a village which receives the name of Paleókastro from the ruins. The other bears the common Bulgaric name of Gradish, or Gráditza, and stands on the highest point of the lower ridge of the Siátista mountain, in front of the upper town. Neither of them being of large dimensions, they may both, perhaps, have been fortresses, dependent upon a city which occupied the site of Siátista itself. By the learned of this place, Gráditza is supposed to be the ancient Tyrissa, a Macedonian city noticed by Pliny and Ptolemy[1], but as the latter places

[1] Plin. l. 4, c. 10. Ptolem. l. 3, c. 10.

its name next to that of Europus in Emathia, there is reason to believe that Tyrissa was very far from hence to the north-eastward. Whatever the name may have been, the situation was of great importance, as commanding the principal entrance into Macedonia from the plains of the Haliacmon, which river was here the boundary between Upper Thessaly and Upper Macedonia[1]. It seems to have been near Siátista that Domitius Calvinus was encamped when opposed to Scipio, while Cæsar was employed against Pompey in Illyria. We learn from the Commentaries that Scipio occupied some heights on the right bank of the river, at a distance of about six miles from the camp of Domitius. Scipio leaving twelve cohorts under Favonius, with orders to fortify his position, attempted to surprise Longinus, who commanded a legion of Cæsarians in Thessaly, but was speedily recalled by Favonius, and returned just in time to prevent an attack upon him from the superior forces of Domitius. Soon after his return, Scipio crossed the river, but no action ensued; and on the second night he found it prudent to resume his station on the right bank. In a subsequent attempt to surprise the enemy's foragers, eighty of his cavalry were slain, and soon afterwards he was tempted to quit his strong position by a stratagem of Domitius, who pretended to retire for the sake of obtaining supplies, but withdrew only three miles into a pass, which concealed his whole force. The cavalry and light-

[1] ——ad flumen Haliacmonem, quod Macedoniam à Thessaliâ dividit.—Cæsar de B. C. l. 3, c. 36. Strabo, p, 326, 437.

armed in advance of Scipio, on entering the pass, discovered the ambuscade, but too late to prevent the loss of two turmæ and a prefect. The Klisúra of Siátista seems perfectly adapted to this transaction from its nature and its situation relatively to the *Haliacmon*, but still more as being the Gate which led from the extensive open country watered by that river through Sarighióli, which was probably the ancient Eordæa into *Lyncestis;* for we learn from Cæsar, that Domitius afterwards really retired to Heraclia (of Lyncestis[1]), where he narrowly escaped from falling into the hands of the enemy, marching into Macedonia after his victory over Cæsar at Dyrrhachium. A position in front of a pass, which secured the entrance into a large extent of fertile country, was exactly such as we may suppose to have been chosen by Domitius for his camp.

[1] Cæsar de B. C. l. 3, c. 79. The words are, "Heracliam Senticam, quæ est subjecta Candaviæ," where the last words clearly show that Senticam is an error either of Cæsar or of the text, for Heraclia Sintica was towards the eastern extremity of Macedonia, whereas Candavia lay exactly in the route of Pompey from Dyrrhachium to Heraclia of Lyncestis, so that, when Domitius marched thither from the Haliacmon, "fortuna illum Pompeio objicere videretur."

CHAPTER VII.

MACEDONIA.

River Pramóritza—Sélitza—Sisáni—Mount Siniátziko—Boghatzikó—Anaselítza—Bobúshti—Smíghes—Kastoría—lake—*Celetrum*—Krúpista—Zelogósh—Kapesnítza—Devól—Bíklista—klisúra of Tzangón—Pliássa—Korytzá—*Candavia*—Votskóp—Moskhópoli—Lávdhari—Rivers Khelidhóni and Devól—Mounts Ostrovítza, 'Opari, Lénia—Dúshari—Komméno-lithári—Dombréni—Mount Tomór—village of Tomór—Tomorítza—Descent to Berát—River Uzúmi—Berát, or Beligrád—Vezír Ibrahím—Mount Spirágr—*Antipatria*.

Sept. 5, *(continued)*.—Leaving the peak of Gráditza on the left, we descend the mountain from Siátista by a rocky road, and at 5 enter again the plain of the Vistrítza; where near the foot of the mountain, to the left, the river Pramóritza joins the Vistrítza below the village of Tzerúsia. We continue our route along the foot of the ridge of Siátista, and at 6.20 arrive at Sélitza, which is situated in the hollow of a ravine descending from the summit of the same mountain, and at the head of a slope which towards the Vistrítza is covered with vineyards. Numerous springs water the gardens of Sélitza, and render the situation preferable to that of Siátista in every respect except those of its healthy elevation and coolness in summer. Sélitza is two or three miles distant from the river which here pursues a course

parallel to the foot of the mountains, and receives from them several small streams. The summit above Sélitza, which is higher than either of the other points of the same chain, namely, Búrino, and the mountain of Siátista, is named Σινιάτζικον, vulgarly pronounced Sinátjko. On the other side of it are the villages Plátissa and Pepelísta, below which lies the plain of Saríghioli.

In front of Sélitza, beyond the great valley of the *Haliacmon*, the entire range of *Pindus* is presented to view, from the summits near Métzovo to a point beyond Korytzá, called Xerovúni. Mount Smólika, or Zmolska, above the Vlakhiote town of Samarína, is the most remarkable peak, beyond which, above the centre of the range, and to the left of Mount Smólika, is seen the great serrated rock called Lázari, which is near the village of Pápingo in Zagóri, and not far to the southward of Kónitza. The undulated low country, which borders the Vistrítza and its western branches, constitutes the district of Anaselítza, of which the Turkish Kassabá or capital, named Lapsísta, is visible at the distance of a few miles to the westward. Sélitza formerly contained many Greek merchants trading to Germany, but having fallen into the hands of the Vezír Alý, it has been abandoned by them. The houses are tolerably built, and have good gardens; the vineyards yield a wine not much inferior to that of Siátista; the other cultivated lands produce wheat, barley, maize, and millet[1]; but none of the richer productions of lower Macedonia or Southern Greece are found in

[1] κεχρί.

these cold regions; neither silk nor cotton, rice nor oil. An olive tree planted by the bishop in his garden at Siátista did not thrive after the second year. On my inquiring of the bishop for remains of antiquity, he sends for an inscription which he has partly traced in charcoal, and partly copied, but without attending to the lines of the original, from a marble still existing in a monastery near Sisáni, which, though now only a small village, is one of the places from which his bishopric takes its title The monument shows that at Sisáni, or near it, stood a city of some importance, but not named in the inscription,—an unfortunate omission, as the ancient authors have left no description of this part of the country sufficiently precise to supply the deficiency. Elimeia I should conceive to have been nearer to Grevená. The inscription is complete at the beginning, but imperfect at the end; it contains a list of Ephebi, with the names of the gymnasiarch and ephebarch, and a notice that the city supplied the oil for the gymnastic exercises. It is dated in the year 135, which, taken from the battle of Actium, corresponds to 105 from the birth of Christ, or the eighth year of the reign of Trajan[1].

[1] Inscription at Sisáni:

Ἀλειφούσης τῆς πόλεως· Ἔτους ρλέ. Ἄρχοντος τοῦ γυμνασίου Τ. Κλαυδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἐφηβαρχοῦντος Τι. Κλαυδίου Παριανοῦ, ἔφηβοι οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι. Πρόκλος Ἰουλίου, Τίτος Λύκας, Κλασίων, Αἴλιος Εὐφρόσυνος, Θεόφιλος Ἀλεξάνδρου, Φρασίδυτος, Τυχικὸς Κοίντου, Λύκος, Λούκιος Μάριος Ποταμὼν, Μάξιμος Ἀφρόδειτος, Ὑψίγονος Εὐτάκτου, Στράτων Ἰουλιανοῦ, Σέκουνδος Φίλιππος Μακεδὼν, Εὐγείας, Τερτιανὸς Νικοπόλεως, Ἰουλιανὸς Ποσειδὼν, Γάϊος Ἀντιπα . . . . . V. Inscription No. 3.

Sept. 6.—After treating the bishop with an English breakfast, which seems not much to his taste, I proceed on horseback with my two companions to the monastery of St. Athanasius, situated in a wood on the side of Mount Siniátziko, and afterwards to one of the nearer summits on foot, a laborious walk, and scarcely worth the fatigue, as the height commands no very important points that are not seen from below, with the exception of *Olympus*, which rises above the ridge of Siniatzikó in all its *breadth* and majesty, and shows its superiority to this range still more strikingly than from the plain. A little to the left of *Olympus* appears the mountain of Livádhi, or Vlakholívadho, a large Vlakhiote town, four hours beyond Sérvia, in the direction of *Olympus*. On a little elevated plain between us and the summit which rises above Siátista stands Konaskó, a small village formerly noted for the skill of its inhabitants in the use of the musquet, their activity in climbing the mountains, and those other qualities of the independent mountaineers of Greece and Albania, one of which was generally a disposition to robbery. They have been subdued, and are now kept in quiet by the strong arm of Alý Pashá.

The monastery contains at present no more than three monks, all the others being absent on their usual tours of begging, which sometimes carry them as far as Germany. The house is supported by these means, and by the produce of a few corn-fields and sheep pastures in the bosom of the mountain, assisted by the presents made to the church by the neighbour-

ing inhabitants, who often come in the summer to pass a day or two in this pleasant retreat, and on the festival of the saint, frequent it in considerable numbers. The monks are building a new konák for the accommodation of their profitable visitors, while a painter, who has the reputation of being one of the best in Greece, is employed in the church in retouching, new silvering, and gilding the pictures of the saints[1]. In the minutiæ of drapery, in the expression of muscles and features, his effect and finishing are remarkable, while the figures themselves are in the usual Greek taste, intolerably stiff and unnatural. But they resemble in many respects the early productions of the Italians, among whom the revived art of painting had its beginning in the pictures of the Greek church. The same painter is the most celebrated performer on the violin in this part of the country, and fails not to be in attendance whenever there is an assembly at the monastery.

At 3.20, taking leave of my two companions and the bishop, I proceed through the vineyards at the foot of the mountain, and cross at 3.50 a small branch of the *Haliacmon*, coming from the mountain on the right. Sisáni stands on the right bank of this stream, at the distance of two hours from this spot. The hills seen up the glen are well wooded, and are not so high as the bare white summits above Sélitza and Siátista. We proceed over the barren roots of the mountain by a rugged road, having the river on our left, very near the

[1] τοὺς ἁγίους εἰκόνας.

foot of the hills. At 5.25 we cross another tributary of the Vistrítza, where it emerges from an opening between steep banks, which leaves only a small level on either side of the stream, where are some mills and cultivated lands. Beyond the river we pass through a pleasant grove of oaks and elms, again cross the roots of the mountain, and arrive at 6 at Boghatzikó, a large village situated at the head of a slope covered with vineyards, and immediately at the foot of the mountain, in a situation very similar to that of Sélitza, except that here is no ravine at the back. The roads about the village are made practicable for wheel carriages, and the cars, instead of running on trucks, have wheels with spokes. It is the only place in Greece where I have seen agricultural mechanics in so advanced a state. Boghatzikó is a Kefalo-khóri, producing little grain, but a considerable quantity of wine. The principal inhabitants are masons and carpenters, who find work at Constantinople, and in the other principal towns of Turkey, and after residing there for several years return home with their gains. The village belongs to the ecclesiastical province of Sisanium and Satista, but like several others in this part of Macedonia, accounts for its taxes at Olossóna.

The district of Anaselítza, which extends in front of us, along the opposite side of the river, contains upwards of 100 villages, the greater part of which are small; about one half of the number are Turkish. In the opposite chain of mountains, a rocky summit, towering above the others, and bearing W.S.W., is called Rushotári. On

this side of it stands the Greek village of Tzobán, on the other Burbutzikó. Between them is a dervéni, which leads from Anaselítza into the Albanian district of Kolónia, and the valleys of the upper Viósa, or *Aous*.

Sept. 7.—Sending forward my baggage by the direct road to Kastoría, I begin to descend at 6 through the vineyards of Boghatzikó, pass over a fine plain, quite uncultivated, and at 6.45 cross the Injékara, for the purpose of visiting Bobúshti, a small Turkish village situated on the summit of a steep bank above the river, where, agreeably to the information which I received at Boghatzikó, I find an ancient statue. It is of white marble, draped, and of the human size; the head is wanting, and the legs and feet are buried in the ground, in which manner it serves to support a stone trough, made to convey water to the village fountain. The right hand is folded in the mantle over the breast with the fist clenched, the left hand hangs down by the side. The drapery is heavy, and the whole performance indifferent. Near it are several wrought stones, which belonged to some ancient building; but there is no appearance of any walls or other indications of the site of an ancient town. After a loss of three quarters of an hour at Bobúshti, I follow the heights near the river, over a rich but uncultivated soil, and then descending from them, re-cross the Injékara at 8 by the bridge of Smighes, probably so called because the river just below it is joined by another stream which issues from the Lake of Kastoría. This point is less than an hour from Boghatzikó

by the direct road. At the bridge the slope of the mountain reaches to the left bank of the river. We now cross a plain higher than the level of the river; at its extremity to the right is the Lake of Kastoría, on the margin of which we arrive at 9.30. The waters are stagnant, putrescent at the edge, and entirely covered with a green pellicle. The town appears on the opposite side, built on an isthmus, which connects a high rocky peninsula with the north-western shore. The peninsula extends into the middle of the lake, and a large monastery is seen at its extremity on the water side. Having skirted the western shore of the lake, we enter some gardens abounding in walnut trees, and halt among them at 10.10, near the gate of the town, waiting for the return of the tatár, whom I had sent forward to provide a lodging, with a letter of recommendation from Siátista, to Kyr T. K., one of the primáti. After some delay we are conducted to the house of a papás, where I am soon afterwards visited by Kyr K., who is now very pressing that I should remove to his house, which, under the circumstances, I decline, though my konák is humble enough, compared with the handsome houses of some of the Greek merchants, particularly that of Kyr K. himself. It would seem that the merchants of these Macedonian towns have lost something of the barbarous virtue of hospitality by a residence in civilized Europe, though at Kastoría something may perhaps be ascribed to an anxiety to resist every infringement of an ancient privilege which exempts the Greeks of this place from the bur-

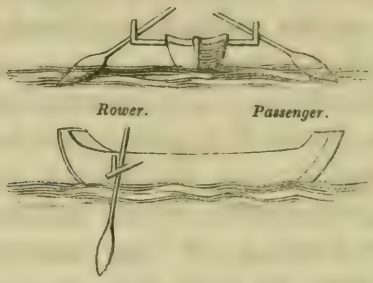
then of lodging passengers. A traveller is the more sensible to this difference of reception, as the Greeks in general are eminently of a social character, and practise hospitality to a degree which could hardly be expected in their poor and oppressed condition. But without this advantage, travelling in the Levant would hardly be tolerable; for although the traveller may, by the power of his firmáhn and of Turkish attendants, force his way into the Christian houses, he would be disappointed in his objects of inquiry if he were not generally met by a disposition to hospitality. This indeed is the most agreeable characteristic of Oriental travelling, as it gives the traveller a better view of manners than can possibly be obtained in civilized Europe, in moving from one inn to another, and thus more than compensates for the inconveniences arising from the want of public accommodation. In point of expense, there is no saving, or rather, notwithstanding the greater value of money in Turkey, the Oriental mode is the more expensive of the two, the traveller's attendants being more numerous than are necessary in civilized Europe, and the presents which he makes at departing to the lower class of householders with whom he lodges, or to the servants of the rich, amounting generally to as much as would pay the bill at the most expensive inn in Christendom. I met with a similar delay at Métzovo as at Kastoría in obtaining a lodging, and at Siátista should probably have found still greater than that which occurred, had not Kyr N., being a nephew of a bishop, been particularly fearful of offending the Vezir's musafír, or stranger guest.

Kastoría[1], or, according to the vulgar transposition of the accent in this termination, Kastoriá, contains about 600 families, of whom the Jews form a tenth, and the remainder is divided equally between Turks and Greeks. All the population of the villages is Greek, with the exception of a subáshi, or agent, in some of the Turkish tjiftlíks. The present Turkish commandant is Demír Bey, who pays the Porte 25 purses a year for the mukatá, or farm of the revenue of the district, which includes fifty villages. His family is of long standing at Kastoría; Mehmét, the head of the house, is now at 'Akhridha with his troops, on the public service; for these Beys, being Timariots, hold their lands on condition of personal service, and are bound to the maintenance of a certain number of men, who receive provisions from the government when called into the field. A third brother resides at Ioánnina by command of Alý Pashá, who generally takes care to keep one member of every principal family near him. Their father was beheaded by the Porte.

The Lake of Kastoría is reckoned a six hours' ride in circumference, but does not appear to me to be above six miles long and four broad. The peninsula is near four miles in circumference, and the outer point is not far from the centre of the lake. In the evening I make the tour of the peninsula in a canoe, in company with Kyr K. The monóxyla of this lake are longer and better made

[1] Καστωρεία.

than those of the Lake of Ioánnina; that in which I embark is 15 feet in length, so deep that a man sitting down at the bottom is quite concealed, and is capable of holding thirty persons [1].



The two ends, which are exactly alike, are raised above the gunwhale, and hollowed within, so as to furnish a very comfortable seat with a back, while by their form they improve the outward appearance of the boat. Towards the stern, two outriggers, with an upright at the extremity of them, furnish a pivot for the oars, which thus placed have great power, and are capable of turning the boat round upon the head, as a centre, with remarkable quickness and ease. The annual value of the fish caught in this lake amounts to 100 purses. Besides the quantity consumed fresh in the town and surrounding villages, which are supplied from hence in winter, as far as Korytzá, a

[1] The *μονόξυλα πλοῖα* of the Danube are mentioned by Arrian, de exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 3, and those of the Rhone by Polybius, l. 3, c. 42. Pliny, H. N. l. 16, c. 40, states that some of the canoes of Germany formed of a single tree contained 30 men. Those of Kastoría are generally formed out of a single tree, but a part of the upper works are sometimes of a different piece.

large proportion is salted and meets a ready market in every part of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*. Though the lake is now entirely covered with a green surface, and the water is hot, turbid, and by no means tasteless, it is preferred for drinking to the water of the wells, and of some fine springs at the foot of the hills beyond the gardens, which are all considered as *βαρυὰ νερὰ*, or heavy waters. In fact, when cooled in jars, the lake water is not disagreeable, though I should never have thought of preferring it to the clear and sparkling produce of the springs; but the Greeks are extremely curious upon the subject of the quality of water, and attentive to its possible effects upon their health; in which they are prudent, as they drink an immense quantity of it in summer, especially in those fasts when they live chiefly on salted provisions. The fish of the lake are carp, tench, eels, and the *γουλιανός* [1]; carp are taken, weighing 15 okes, eels 4 okes, and Kyr K. has seen a gulianós weighed of 64 okes, or 176 lbs., but they are sometimes much larger. The fishery of the lake, which forms part of the Mukatá, is let by Demír Bey for 12 purses to Hassán Efféndi, who exacts from the fishermen of the town one third of the produce of the sale, and grants the privilege to those of Topiákos, a village on the side of the lake, for 10 piastres a year to each person. All modes of fishing are allowed; the Topiakiotes chiefly employ traps, and the Kastorites round spreading nets, or seines, which are sometimes 200 *ὀργυιαὶς* in length.

[1] Silurus Glanis.

The lake is frozen over occasionally when the north winds are constant in winter; seven or eight years ago carts passed across upon the ice.

The Lake of Okhri, in Greek 'Akhridha, and sometimes 'Okhridha[1], differs essentially from that of Kastoría. Its waters are extremely bright and clear, though perfectly sweet and fresh. It never freezes, and abounds in trout, which are not found in the Lake of Kastoría.

The present fortification of Kastoría consists only of a wall across the western extremity of the isthmus, which was built in the time of the Byzantine Empire, and has a wet ditch, making the peninsula an island. The wall has been slightly renewed by the Turks, who keep it well whitewashed, which among them often serves instead of a repair. In the middle of the wall stands a square tower, through which is the only entrance into the town. A parallel wall, flanked with round towers, which in Byzantine times crossed the peninsula from shore to shore, and excluded all the eastern part of it, although now in ruins, still divides the Kassabá, or quarter of the Turks, from that of the Greeks, whose town occupies the middle of the peninsula, and extends down to the water on either side of it.

The remainder of the peninsula eastward of the Greek quarter is a high rock, bare and uncultivable, and which intercepts from the town the view of all the southern and of great part of the eastern side of the lake. There are many small churches of ancient date in different parts of the peninsula,

[1] στὴν Ἀχριδα, Ὀχριδα, the Ἀχρις of the Byzantine authors.

which are said to have been built by persons banished from the capital, and confined here by the Greek emperors. The accurate description of Castoria by Anna Comnena, shows that no great change has occurred since the twelfth century[1].

At the eastern extremity of the lake is a large village named Mávrovo. Here begins a long and well-cultivated plain, bounded to the south by the hills, the opposite side of which we followed from Sélitza, and to the north by the ridge of Siniátziko, which, taking a more northerly direction than towards Siátista, embraces the plain, and joins the mountains which bound the lake on the northern side.

The hills at the eastern end of the plain of Mávrovo separate it from that of Saríghioli. Northeastward of Kastoría is the lofty summit called Vitsh, written in Greek Βίτζη. It is the same which I saw bearing N. 22 E. from Mount Kakardhísta, and is a very remarkable bare abrupt peak, having a region of pines below it. The road from Mávrovo to Kaliári leaves it on the left in passing the ridge which separates the plains. Midway in this route is situated Vlakho-klisúra, the name of which explains both the origin of the inhabitants and the situation of the place.

The scenery around Kastoriá is extremely beautiful. Trees and verdure adorn the higher parts of the mountain, and below are small villages and cultivation mixed with woods. To the N.W. and W. the lowest slopes are green with vineyards; and below them a narrow plain stretches along the margin of the lake, which on either side of the gar-

[1] Anna Comnena, l. 6, p. 152. Paris.

dens, near the entrance of the town, is covered with walnut-trees and poplars, mixed with corn-fields. To the south a plain of corn land extends to the hills of Boghatzikó and to the Injékara. In every other direction except at the eastern extremity, the slopes of the hills reach to the margin: from the southern extremity of the lake issues the stream which joins the Injékara at Smighes. At the point of its exit from the lake the Topiakiotes catch an abundance of crayfish.

The ecclesiastical province of Kastoría is very extensive, but the bishop, although metropolitan, is, together with those of Grevená, Pelagonía, Vodhená, Korytzá, Berát, and Strúmnitza, considered subject to the archbishop of 'Akhridha. To the north the province is *synorous* with that of Pelagonia or Bitólia; and extends to the west into Albania, where it includes Kolónia, which has a suffragan bishop.

Of the Hellenic name of this remarkable position we should have been left in ignorance, but for a single passage in Livy, which leaves no room for a doubt that it is the site of Celetrum, and thus affords a most useful point for the adjustment of the comparative geography of the surrounding part of Macedonia, which, although still sufficiently obscure, would, without this aid, have been much more uncertain. In the first Macedonian campaign of the Romans, B.C. 200, the consul Sulpicius marched from the banks of the Apsus through the country of the Dassaretii into Lyncestis, and from thence, after an engagement with Philip at Octolophus, forced the passes which separate the valley of the river Erigon from Eordæa. From the latter province he moved into Elimæa, and from thence into Orestis:

here he invested Celetrum, "a town situated on a peninsula which is surrounded by the waters of a lake, and has only a single entrance over a narrow isthmus which connects it with the continent[1]." Having received the submission of Celetrum, the consul returned into Dassaretia, and from thence regained Apollonia, the place from whence he had departed on this expedition.

The travelled men of Kastoría seem not more anxious about education than their fellow-countrymen in general: nothing more being taught in the school, which they support here, than the mere rudiments of the ancient language. So powerful is the effect of the Turkish system, that all those who dwell long in the country seem inevitably to feel the effects of this moral atmosphere by a want of energy and an indifference to every thing but the vulgar pursuits of life, or to their personal safety, which, being always in some danger, affords therefore some excuse for their conduct. Even those who return after a long residence in civilized Europe, are seldom tardy in resuming the general feeling, and among other indications of it, make none but the feeblest exertions for the improvement of the rising generation. It is almost entirely to the Greeks permanently settled in foreign countries, and to some of their countrymen at Constantinople, that Greece is indebted for the progress she has

[1] Inde impetum in Orestidem fecit: et oppidum Celetrum est aggressus, in peninsula situm. Lacus mœnia cingit: angustis faucibus unum ex continente iter est.—Liv. l. 31, c. 40.

made of late years in education, and that progress, therefore, although constant, is slow on the continent of Greece. Few men are to be found here who have any curiosity as to the ancient geography or history of their country; and even the young men who have had the benefit of an European education, soon lose their literary taste and acquirements, when they are settled in their native land, where, straightened, perhaps, for the means of existence, living under a constant necessity of deceiving their oppressors, and deprived of all instructive conversation, they soon become entirely occupied with the only objects which a government such as the Turkish leaves open to them. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged, that in these matters the continent of Greece has been exemplary, compared with the islands of the western coast, where the vicious government of Venice seems to have been more effectual even than the Turkish in repressing the natural disposition of the Greeks for mental improvement. The Greeks of Kastoría are somewhat less exposed than those of Kózani, Siátista, Sélitza, and Korytzá, to the exactions of Alý Pashá, which have driven away so many from those places. Enough, however, has been done to thin Kastoría of its inhabitants; and several of the large houses, both of the Greeks and Jews, are falling to ruin, or standing empty.

Sept. 8.—This afternoon we cross in half an hour the hills to the westward of Kastoría, and descend into the plain of the Injékara, where the junction of its two principal branches is half a mile to the left. In another hour we cross that which

comes from Tzélova, a village in the mountains towards Filúrina, and enters the plain through a narrow opening just above the place where we cross it. The village of Sligáni is in the glen half a mile to the right. The other, or western branch of the river, which originates in the great mountains on that side, after winding through gorges in the lower hills of that range, enters at a point bearing about N. 60 W. from Kastoría the open champaign country ten or twelve miles in breadth, which separates those mountains from the heights near Kastoría. On a ridge along the right bank of the river are situated several Turkish villages, of which the principal are Zelogósh and Krúpista. The latter was not far to our left at 4.30, and Zelogósh was at five miles in direct distance in the same direction at 5.10 as we mounted some heights which close the plain to the northward, and which are the barren roots of a range of mountains running north-westward from Kastoría. Near Zelogósh, which stands on a rising ground, the river flows from the west, and receives several small branches from the mountains. After having crossed the heights we arrive at 8.10 at Kapesnítza, and there descend into a valley, the direction of which is parallel to that of the *Pindian* range.

The waters which collect in this valley from the surrounding mountains, form a stream flowing to the north-westward, and thus the low ridge which we crossed separates the waters running to the *Haliacmon* and the *Ægæan* sea from those which flow to the Adriatic. The valley, with its includ-

ing mountains, as well as the country to the northward, to within a short distance of the Lake of 'Akhridha, is called Devól. The river bears the same name. At its sources, in the western ridge, are the villages Nikholítza and Bushigrád; to the southward of which, in the same great range, is the town and district of Grámista.

After following for a short distance the foot of hills on our right, we arrive at 8.40 at a khan situated on the road side below Bíklista, a Mahometan village with two large seráis belonging to Alý Bey, who owns the neighbouring lands. Bíklista may be considered the frontier village of Albania, as the inhabitants speak that language. The valley, like most of those in Albania, is chiefly cultivated with maize. Near the town are a few gardens of melons and pumpkins. The vale is three or four miles in width, bounded to the westward by hills of no great height, but connected with the high range.

Sept. 9.—At 6 this morning I proceed from the khan to the Bogház or pass of Tjangón, situated at the extremity of the vale of Bíklista, to the N.N.W. of that town. In three quarters of an hour a narrow glen opens on our right, from which issues a small river, said to originate in a lake in the district of Prespa, called Ventrók. At the mouth of the glen is a narrow level, on which stands the village of Tren. A high mountain is seen through the opening, having a direction of north and south. The plain is now three miles in breadth. Leaving several small villages to the right at the foot of the mountain, we cross at 7 the

river Devól, which, not having yet received that of Tren, is still very small. At 7.40 Tjangón, a small Moslém village, is on the left, on the foot of the heights, which form the pass on the southern side. Here we halt eighteen minutes, then proceeding, arrive at 8.15 at the narrowest part of the pass, where the river, now greatly increased in size, occupies all the space. Here they are building a new bridge.

The Pass of Tjangón, or Klisúra of Devól, as it may be called, and probably would be if the Greeks were more numerous in this part of the country, is a remarkable feature in the geography of Upper Macedonia. Like the Klisúra of Siátista, it is a natural gate of communication from the champaign country of the *Haliacmon* into other extensive plains, and it is moreover the only break in the great central range of *Pindus*, from its southern commencement in the mountains of Ætolia, to where it is blended to the northward with the summits of Hæmus and Rhodope. The pass is not as strong as it is narrow, the hills which immediately border it on either side being not very abrupt. But they soon become steep and lofty, and the great rocky summit to the north called Kurúdagh, Græce Xerovúni, is a suitable link to the chain, formed by the great summits Ghrammos, Russotári, and Smólika. Beyond the bridge we turn immediately to the south, enter the great plain of Korytzá, and pass along the foot of some hills connected at the back with the central ridge. On our right in the plain are several Albanian villages, situated between Xerovúni and the Devól. The

largest is Poyaní, on the right bank of that river, which flows from thence to the north-west, enters a large lake towards that extremity of the plain, and on emerging from it, begins to wind through a succession of narrow valleys among the great range of mountains which border the plain of Korytzá on the west. In its progress through them, the Devól receives several large tributaries, and finally joins the Beratinós, or ancient *Apsus*, two hours below Berát, in the great maritime plain of *Illyria*.

At 8.55 we pass through Pliássa, a small village at the foot of the mountain, remarkable for a very large serái, which was built here not long ago by one Mehmét Pashá, an Albanian of large possessions in the neighbouring plain, whose family is connected by marriage with that of Alý of Tepeléni. Mehmét died *suddenly* last winter at Ioánnina, where his son Velý is still detained by the Vezír Alý : the other sons are here. Continuing along the foot of the hills, we arrive at 10.20 at Korytzá, which is situated entirely in the plain, though separated only by some vineyards from a projection of the mountain, which is crowned by a ruined castle. It is a structure probably of the Bulgarians, though vulgar report attributes it to the Spaniards.

As there are some doubts whether the plague, which broke out here about eight months ago, has entirely ceased, I pitch my tent on the outside of the town, but on receiving, after the delay of an hour, an assurance from the Bey that the Greek quarter is entirely free from suspicion, remove to the metropolis. The bishop returns to town in the

evening from the village of Bobushtítza, on hearing of my arrival, but not before I had taken possession of his apartment, the only comfortable one in the metropolitan palace; the others, which are inhabited by the archdeacon and deacons, being all ruinous, exposed to the weather, and covered with smoke and dirt. The bishop's closet, which measures ten feet by six, has two small glazed windows, a sofa on two sides, a shelf in one corner piled with ecclesiastical books, and other shelves on which are ranged plates made of pewter, or of German earthenware. Affixed to one wall, as customary in Greek houses, is a deal case, containing a picture of the Virgin, with a lamp perpetually burning before it. A German clock, the pastoral staff, and a Ξύστρι, or scratching machine made of hard wood scored with furrows, complete the list of furniture.

Sept. 10.—Korytzá, vulgarly pronounced Gortjá, or Gkiortjá[1], and by the Albanians Ghiórghia, contains about 450 houses, of which more than a half are Christian. The filthy streets and comfortless habitations proclaim the Albanian town. Its artizans manufacture most of the articles of Albanian dress and furniture; and the snuff of Korytzá, which is made chiefly from the tobacco of Arta, is in good repute.

One of the most ordinary causes of delay to the traveller in Turkey, which I experience to-day, is the want of horses, generally caused by the insufficient capital of the farmer of the post, so that

[1] Κορυτζὰ, Γκιορτζά.

whenever there is an uncommon influx of tatárs, or a Pashá passes through, the traveller who follows has no alternative but to wait for the return of the horses. Abdulláh Pashá passed through Korytzá two days ago on his way tó Okhri. He is a pretender to the Pashalík of Elbassán, and is supported in his pretensions by Alý Pashá, but he has no less than three rivals, two of whom are from the northern part of Albania, where the Skodrian has the chief power: the third Ibrahím is in actual possession of the place, and is supported there by the troops of the Vezír of Berát, after a war between Berát and Skodra, which has ceased now that the Beratinós has gained his object. But as Alý has an interest in reviving the contest, it will not be long, probably, before hostilities recommence.

At dinner, the bishop not being able to resist the Frank cookery of my servant, breaks the fast, but sets the archdeacon at the door to prevent intruders. He has a plate of octapódhi, or salted starfish, set before him, and takes care neither to change his plate, nor to allow more than one excavation to appear in the pudding and piláf. He produces from his cellar a light dry wine, which is made from the vineyards on the hills near the town, and is not inferior to the wine of Siátista. His all-holiness, or high priestship[1], as a metropolitan bishop is styled, was a deacon for many years at Kastoría, and purchased his present dignity from the Porte in the usual manner. On

[1] ἡ Πανιερότητου.

appointing a Bishop, or rather on approving the recommendation of the Patriarch, the Porte gives a seal, in the centre of which is written the name, in Turkish, of the mansúp, or office, and round its edge the Greek Title. The bishop found his see burthened with a debt of 50 purses, bearing an interest of 12 per cent., which, on account of the growing poverty and depopulation of the country, his province will scarcely ever be able to pay. The metropolitan bishopric of Korytzá and Selásforo [1] comprehends the country to the westward of Korytzá half way to Berát, includes Premedí and Tepeléni to the southward and westward, and in the opposite direction Devól. Selásforo is now a village by the Turks called Svesde, situated at the foot of Mount Xerovúni, 3 hours north of Korytzá. There is a remark in the Notitiæ Episcopatuum Græcorum, of the date of the 13th century, that Selásforo was then better known as Deabolis; Devól is the modern form, or rather, perhaps, Devól was always the local name, and Deabolis the Greek version of it. In the eleventh century, Anna Comnena described Deabolis as a town situated at the foot of a mountain, (thus agreeing with Selásforo,) and informs us that Alexius frequently occupied it in his campaigns against the Normans, when the latter first obtained a footing in Illyria [2]. It is evident from Anna's narrative, that Achris and Deabolis were then the two places of chief im-

[1] Κορυτζᾶς καὶ Σελασφόρου. [2] Anna Comnen. ll. 5. 13, pp. 126. 328. Paris.

portance to the eastward of the *Candavian* range, but though many other names, still existing, or slightly corrupted, occur also in that part of her history, there is no trace of that of Korytzá. A bishop of Deabolis was instrumental in having first invited the Normans into this country from Italy [1].

There are 80 villages and 2800 Greek houses in the episcopal province of Korytzá; as the bishop receives 8 parás from each house, his regular income is between five and six hundred piastres, or about 36*l.* sterling. His other emoluments consist in customary presents of provisions, and in fees which are chiefly for the arrangement of disputes among the laity. In the larger sees, such as Lárissa and Ioánnina, where the clergy are more numerous, and there are Greek families of opulence, the bishop demands a portion of the profits derived by the former from the confessions, domestic services, and the ἐφημερίαις, or daily prayers, which are read in many families by a priest. But Korytzá produces very little to its bishop in this way.

In common with many of the Greek clergy, my host is desirous of an union of the Greek and Latin churches, entertains a very indifferent opinion of his own countrymen, but ascribes the ruin of the country principally to the Musulman Albanians, whose power and tyranny have arrived at such a height, that Turks and Christians agree in wishing for the arrival of a Frank conqueror. Hence he has

[1] Scylitzes, p. 865, ed. Paris.

always considered Bonaparte deficient in policy, in having gone to Egypt instead of coming here, where the consequences would have been much more important, and from whence he could not have been driven out. The bishop admits, however, that the three Vezírs of Ioánnina, Berát, and Skodra, could collect 50,000 men in a short time, and that an army landing at Avlóna, and advancing as far as Berát, would be unable to proceed from a want of provisions, Albania producing nothing but men, and this fine looking plain returning very little to the cultivator. It is said that the fig, which so near as Premedí ripens at the usual time, here seldom comes to perfection; from the present appearance of the vines, indeed, it is evident that the climate is that of a much more northern latitude, and the soil may be less fertile, than that of Anaselítza and Kastoría; but a want of security, industry, and good agriculture, are probably the chief causes of the scanty harvests; for we learn from Livy, that these plains furnished an abundance of forage to the Roman army, under the consul Sulpicius, in the campaign of the year 200 B. C. [1]

The bishop's geography and history ascend no higher than the Bulgarian conquest of this country, which he considers as a part of Παλαιὰ Βουλγαρία, or Old Bulgaria, subdued and in part peopled by Albanian freebooters. As a proof of this fact, he instances some Bulgarian names, such as Belovóda (white water), a village and river in the neigh-

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 33.

bouring mountain,—Bushigrád and several others. But names of Illyric origin are found in every part of Greece. A stronger proof is the use of the Bulgarian language, which is still spoken in some of the villages of this district. The plain of Korytzá is about 20 miles long, and from 6 to 10 wide, terminated at either end by hills of no great height, of which those to the northward furnish an easy passage into the great valley of 'Akhridha, which is occupied in great part by the lake anciently named Lychnidus. The town of 'Akhridha lies nearly due north from hence, distant twelve hours near the northern extremity of the lake. Southward of the plain of Korytzá are hills forming a district called Kiári, beyond which is Kolónia, and the sources of the branch of the *Apsus*, which flows by Viskúki and Skrepári to Berát. The district of Kolónia begins on the other side of Mount Pepélas, which branches from the mountain of Grámista in a south-western direction, and falls to the southern end of the plain of Korytzá. From the western and north-western side of the plain rises a range of very lofty mountains, on the sides of which are seen villages, and cultivation on the middle and lower slopes, and behind them towering summits, known by the names of Lénia and 'Opari. Farther south other lofty ridges are in sight, as far as the great serrated mountain near Premedí, named Nemértzika, which bears from hence S. 49 W. by compass. The hills are lowest to the northward beyond Selásforo, where appear some very high and distant mountains beyond 'Akhridha, between which and Mount Lénia is seen

the mountain of Elbassán, which I take to be the proper *Candavia;* it bears N. 23 W. by compass. The bogház, or gorge through which the river Devól enters the mountains, after emerging from the lake, bears N. 11 W.

Sept. 11—This morning at 7.35 I set out for Berát in the rain, with a wretched set of horses, procured from the menzíl, and crossing the plain directly in its breadth, and nearly in a due westerly direction, arrive at 8.45 at Votskóp, which name is now applied to two small villages on the last root of the mountains. They are the remains of an old Wallachian colony, which at the time of the Turkish conquest possessed the circumjacent district, and was very populous, but in consequence of that event was dispersed. A part of them retired to a situation in the neighbouring mountain, where they founded the town of Voskópoli; the security of the situation attracted thither numerous settlers from Greece and other parts of European Turkey, who having traded to Germany and rendered the place opulent, became ashamed at length of inhabiting the city of the Shepherds, and changed the name therefore to Moskópoli, or Moskhópoli, which, meaning the city of Calves, seems no great improvement. I have frequently heard the assertion, that the town once contained eight or ten thousand houses, but have great difficulty in believing even the smaller of these numbers. Its greatest prosperity was about a century ago; for seventy years it has been declining, and for the last ten so rapidly, that at present there are only two or three hundred in-

habited houses in the place. After ascending the hills for three quarters of an hour from Votskóp, we enter open cultivable hills and downs, which, compared with the steep ascent from Votskóp, and the abruptness of the mountains around, may be almost termed a plain. At the end of it, at 10.45, we arrive at Moskópoli, situated at the foot of a very lofty summit. Whatever it may once have been, Moskópoli now presents only the appearance of a large village surrounded with gardens, in which the Lombardy poplar is very frequent,—a tree common in these mountains, but apparently not indigenous, as it is found only near the villages.

For a considerable distance round the town are seen the ruins of houses, most of which were of small dimensions, and altogether cannot have amounted to more than a thousand. It is very possible, however, that these ruins are much posterior to the great decline of the place. Among them are several small tents and temporary coverings, tenanted by families which have been obliged to retire out of the village, under suspicion of being infected with the same contagious disease which raged at Korytzá. The disorder, however, is not the proper plague, or it has been unusually mild in its effects, for not more than forty have died at Korytzá in eight months, and here about fifty in the last two months, at the beginning of which time the disease first made its appearance.

Having lost a quarter of an hour by a circuit, to avoid passing through the village, we regain the direct road, cross some barren heights grown with

brushwood and wild strawberries, and at about 12.30, having gained the highest part of the ridge, descend to a stream flowing from the left towards the west, over a wide stony bed between steep mountains, whose sides are well peopled with small villages. We descend by a zigzag path, and cross the river at 1.25; then, ascending the mountain of 'Opari, at 2.30 arrive at Lávdhari, a small village of Greeks, or rather Christian Albanians, and the ordinary residence of Shemseddín Bey, son of Mehmét Pashá, of Fráshari[1], which place is under the authority of Alý Pashá. After a long delay, caused by the conduct of the tatár, who, instead of searching for a lodging for me, demanded a contribution of money for himself, I obtain admission into a long apartment, open to the roof, and belonging to the Papás, who is likewise Proestós of the Greek community. At one end of the room is a ladder descending to the ground floor, which is a stable, and at the other end a fire-place. The dispute between the tatár and Proestós continues after our arrival; the former asserting that the Papás has a better house, the latter swearing that he has not, by the Christ, by the Cross, by the Bread, by the Virgin[2], which is the orthodox ascending climax of Greek asseveration.

The summit rising immediately above Lávdhari is here known by the name of Ostrovítza: from Korytzá it bore N. 86 W. by compass. The river

[1] *Φράσσιαρι.* [2] *μὰ τὸν Χριστὸν, μὰ τὸν Σταυρὸν, μὰ τὸ Ψωμὶ, μὰ τὴν Παναγίαν.*

which we crossed is called the Khelidhóni; a Greek name and probably ancient. It joins the Devól at the foot of Mount Lénia, which appears before us to the north-west, and is not much inferior to the great Tomór in its height and imposing appearance; the latter mountain is hid from us by the range of 'Opari, or Khópari, nor was it visible from Korytzá. Mount Khópari is a westerly continuation of Mount Ostrovítza, and closes the hollow watered by the Khelidhóni. Both these summits, as well as Lénia, are thickly studded on their lower slopes with villages surrounded by cultivation, so that the mountains seem to be inhabited beyond their powers of production, while the plains are deserted,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the bad government of the Turks, and to the difference between their military character and that of the Albanians. Inferior as horsemen, the latter are unable to maintain themselves in the plains, while their hardiness, activity, and greater skill in the use of the musquet are well adapted to the defence of their mountains.

The villages on either side of the hollow which we have crossed, form the district of Khópari; with the exception of Lávdhari, they are principally inhabited by savage Musulman Albanians, of the Toshke tribe, the Christian houses not amounting to more than 230 in thirty villages. In these, though the ordinary language is Albanian, many of the men speak Greek, because the Papádhes are in general from Greece, and because many of the male inhabitants find that language necessary in their employment, as carriers, or

keepers of flocks in the neighbouring parts of Greece. Like the Greeks of Asia Minor, and of other parts of Turkey where they are greatly in the minority, they seclude their women. The Wallachian language is partially used also in these mountains, being spoken by some remains of the Wallachian immigration which preceded the rise of the Albanian power; and thus within a short distance the traveller may hear five tongues, Turkish, Albanian, Bulgarian, Wallachian, and Greek, all radically different, though from the long mixture of the people they have many words in common. The Turkish is much the most rare. It is a melancholy reflection that all the Mahometans of these mountains, and who now form the majority of the population, have become apostates from Christianity since the reign of Mahomet II., in which they have been imitated by many of Vlakhiote or Bulgarian race.

My host the Papás complains of having to pay 300 piastres a year in contributions. The great staff of life, maize, is produced in the Mizakía, of which the market is Berát.

Sept. 12.—At 6.40 we leave Lávdhari, pursue the side of the mountain, and, in the neighbourhood of two or three small villages, pass through several gardens, where the cornel[1] and walnut are mixed with pear, apple, and some other fruit trees, which, being the growth of colder climates, are either not found or rarely found in Southern Greece and the Moréa. Having then descended,

[1] κρανιά.

we cross at 7.45 a branch of the Khelidhóni, coming from the south, and from thence ascend to Protopápas, which, notwithstanding its name, is now entirely Musulman, and has a mosque with a minaret, a distinction proper to be mentioned, as this picturesque adjunct of the mosque is by no means general in Albania. The road in many places is destroyed by the late rains, and in all parts is so extremely bad that our pace is very slow. The tediousness, however, is in great measure compensated by the beauty and sublimity of the prospect. Though the sky still lowers, the weather is less threatening, and admits a view of the great summits at intervals. Occasionally they are illuminated by the sun, while fleecy vapours are seen settling on the ravines and vallies. Sometimes we find ourselves in the midst of these vapours unable to see more than a few feet before us, until suddenly the mist clearing away, shows the highest mountains in that partial manner which never fails to augment their apparent height and magnitude. Continuing to ascend over rugged hills, we halt for 15 minutes at 10.45 at Dúshari, situated under a woody peak called Bófnia, the continuation of the Khópari range: half an hour before Dúshari we crossed a stream from the south, which unites with the Khelidhóni near its junction with the Devól, of which the previous course was from the north-eastward, but which, after the junction, flows along the south-eastern side of Mount Lénia.

At 12.45, after a continual ascent from Dúshari, we arrive at the Komméno Lithári[1], or *Cut Rock*,

[1] Κομμένον λιθάρι.

in Albanian Guri Prei. This is a small rock rising from the crest of a ridge which ranges with Mount Lénia, and divides the hollow of the river Khelidhóni from that of another principal branch of the Devól, which flows along the eastern side of Mount Tomór. The ridge being exactly at this point lower and more accessible than in any other part, the "Cut Rock" is the natural point of communication from the one valley to the other, and for that reason has been occupied by a castle which surrounds the rock. Komméno Lithári was taken from the Pashá of Berát, about seven years ago, by Alý, who now holds it with a garrison of a dozen dirty half-starved Albanians. The fort is nothing but a thin wall, surrounding a quadrangular space, in the centre of which rises a kula, or small keep, standing upon the lithári or rock itself: this tower was formerly the only fortress. The poor soldiers have a few chambers with fire-places in the tower, but so dirty and miserable that I prefer remaining on the flat roof of the tower in the midst of fog, rain, and wind; doubly chilling after the late sultry weather in the plains. The soldiers complain of the cold in winter, when the snow lies on the ground for several months; but still more of the wind, which rushes through this lofty opening in the ridge, in concentrated blasts from whatever quarter it may come. Mutton they contrive to obtain occasionally, as even in winter some sheep remain in the sheltered vallies, and sometimes a little kalambókki, but neither wine nor spirits, their *taim* consisting only of koromána, or black bread: and having never yet received any pay, they must

rob, starve, or desert, but for the contributions of passengers.

After dining on the roof of the tower we quit Guri Prei at 8.15, and soon exchange its fogs and cold for the sunshine of a sheltered valley; in descending to the bottom of which, we pass at 2.45 through Dombréni, a Mahometan village with mosque and minaret, pleasantly situated among gardens and fields of maize, but bearing marks of the late war between the two vezírs in a ruined kula belonging to the Bey, who resides in the village. All this valley, with the including slopes from Guri Prei to the crest of Tomór, is called Tomorítza. From Dombréni there is a descent of another half hour to the branch of the Devól last-mentioned, which we cross at 3.15; then, after riding for a short distance along the bed, begin to ascend from its left bank the lower declivity of Mount Tomór. In the ascent, one of the horses, mounted by a postillion, falls to rise no more. Continuing through a very uneven and woody region, we arrive at length at the foot of the stupendous cliffs and forests of the great summit, from which many fragments loosened by the rains have recently fallen into the road. At the end of two hours from the river we have made the tour of the northern end of the summit, and are beginning to proceed along its western face just under the highest cliffs, which are entirely hid from view by the vapours.

As we advance along the western side of the mountain, the sun becomes visible at short intervals, and lights up portions of the great plain of

the Mizakía with the sea beyond it, but these views are soon shut out again by interposing clouds and rain. Just as it becomes dark we obtain a sight of the village of Tomór or Domór in the highest habitable part of the mountain, and perceive on our right, at the extremity of the long rugged slope of the mountain, the Castle of Berát, and the valley of the river Uzúmi. At 7 we arrive at the village, and as the rain is falling heavily, I am not sorry to obtain speedy admittance into a tower belonging to the family of a Papás recently deceased, who was the Proestós of Tomór. The village which is situated immediately under the immense cliffs, which surround the summit of the mountain, is built amidst a great number of walnut trees of native growth: in other parts of the mountain beeches and pines are the most common trees. The village is inhabited entirely by pastors of the Mizakía, who remain here during the months of June, July, August, and September, old style, and then return to their pastures and winter villages in the plain. Some of these persons possess several thousand head of cattle and sheep, from which butter and cheese are made, and labouring oxen reared for the supply of Rumilí, Albania, and Greece. The butcher has scarcely any demand for the oxen, as beef is not much eaten by Turks or Christians either in these or any other parts of Turkey, and is seldom to be seen but in the Frank or Jewish houses of the great towns. The Illyrian plains are subject to inundations, which sometimes deprive the cattle of wholesome pasture in the spring, and generally cause a mortality,

as happened this year, and rendered necessary a large importation of beasts from the Ultra-Danubian provinces. The pastors of the Mizakía are chiefly of Vlakhiote descent, and speak both Wallachian and Albanian. A Bolu-báshi, appointed by the Pashá of Berát, resides at Tomór, but has no power independent of the primates, the chief of whom, now present, is one Demetrius, who has a tolerable house as compared with the generality of the miserable huts. He is one of the few persons in the community who can speak Greek, which he has learned by having travelled in the prosecution of his trade into several parts of Greece, particularly *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, great feeding countries. I find him a well-informed man for his station, and anxious to supply me with every thing which the village can afford, nor can I prevail on him to accept payment for the provisions consumed by us. In truth, it is by no means uncommon to find not only more hospitality, but more information among the simple shepherds and husbandmen of Greece, than among the inhabitants of the towns.

Demetrius describes to me a Hellenic fortification on the summit of a height rising from a steep slope, which half an hour to the southward of the village of Tomór is surrounded at the back with precipitous cliffs, separating it from the upper heights of the mountain.

Sept. 13.—The mountain of Kúdhesi, to the south-eastward of Avlóna, is conspicuous from Tomór, and to the left of it, more distant, is seen that of Dukái, *Romaicè* Dukádhes, in Khimára.

At 7 A.M. we begin to descend the mountain to Berát. Its immense declivity is interrupted by very uneven ground and numerous ravines. Sometimes the road leads over sloping strata of bare limestone rock, rendered slippery by the rain, which still continues to fall, and in some places is so narrow and muddy that it could not be more difficult in the middle of winter. Several small villages appear on the right and left, chiefly Mahometan. Little cultivation is seen, but there are many large flocks of sheep and goats in the open pasture. In other parts the hills are covered with small trees, principally oaks, mixed with brushwood, consisting chiefly of pirnári, ilex, and lentisk. At 8.40, passing along the side of a precipice where the narrow path has been rendered still narrower by the late rains, two of the loaded horses fall over, roll down for about fifty feet, and would have been precipitated to the bottom of the ravine, but for the trees and bushes which arrested their fall; neither baggage nor horses were hurt. This causes a delay until 9.

At 11 we arrive in a narrow valley, where the river Uzúmi flows from the south, inclosed on the other side by a long mountain of no great height. Here the road turns to the westward with the castle of Berát in front, joins the Ioánnina road at the river side, and follows the right bank. As we approach Berát the valley widens, and then again becomes narrow, until, at the Castle Hill, there is space only for the river between the precipices of that hill and the point of the opposite range.

The Kassabá, or town, is divided into two parts

by the gorge at the Castle Hill. Gorítza, on the opposite side of the river, inhabited solely by Greeks, forms a third makhalá; and the castle itself, which is occupied only by the Pashá's palace and some houses of Christian Toshke, is a fourth. I enter the Kassabá at 12, and in half an hour more, in passing the castle gate, to the Greek quarter, observe in the wall adjacent to the outer and inner gates, particularly at the latter, some small remains of a massy Hellenic wall. After some difficulties, produced by the folly or roguery of the tatár, whom I discharge immediately, I obtain a lodging in the house of the principal Greek merchant, which by no means resembles the houses of the same class in Greece. Even in the best apartment there are neither glass windows, nor a ceiling, nor furniture to the diván, and the light appears through the shutters, floor, and tiles. It is rather a bad omen to find three physicians residing here. Two are Corfiotes, living wretchedly; the third is Dr. G. Sakellários, of Kózani, who was happily settled at Ambelákia, on Mount *Ossa*, when, at the request of Ibrahím, he was obliged by Alý to change his situation from a place which enjoys the comforts of civilized Europe more than any other in Greece, for the centre of Albanian barbarism. Dr. S. is well acquainted with German, Italian, French, Latin, and ancient Greek, has translated (in company with some others) the four first volumes of the Voyage d'Anacharsis into modern Greek, and has printed the first and fourth; but has given up the work, lest suspicions should attach to him, because a part of the trans-

lation was made by Riga, and because the first volume was printed by another of the conspirators of Vienna, who were betrayed by the Austrian government to the Porte. Dr. S., anxious to benefit his countrymen, and sincerely attached to letters, is now engaged in translating into his native language the general history of Greece, by Cousin Despréaux, and is already advanced as far as the seventh volume.

The character given of Ibrahím Pashá, even by those not attached to his service, is favourable. He is said to be a humane and lenient governor, and in many respects a favourable contrast to the Tepeleniote. He is desirous of peace, but his two enterprizing neighbours will not permit him, particularly Alý, who will probably be satisfied with nothing short of his destruction. Ibrahím, however, is himself an usurper: he was son-in-law of his predecessor Ismaíl, at whose death he seized the castle, battered the palace, where Mehmét Pashá, the son of Ismaíl, had taken refuge, and drove him out. Mehmét is now living in poverty at Lúsnia. Ibrahím has lately finished, or rather has not quite finished, a lofty building at one corner of the castle, consisting of three or four stories, to which a palace in the usual Turkish taste is attached. Here he constantly resides, scarcely ever moving from his diván but once in two or three months to some neighbouring village, and very seldom entering even his harém, unless it be that part where his treasures are deposited: he has only one wife, the mother of a son, who, though only six or eight years old, is already

styled pashá, and has an establishment of officers.

Sept. 14.—This forenoon I visit His Highness, for being a vezír he is styled by the Greeks ὑψηλότης, like Alý. Nothing is here to be seen of the crowd, and noise, and multitude of dirty Albanian soldiers, which give such an air of business or confusion to the palace of Alý Pashá; only a few tatárs, or other persons silently seated, in attendance in some long passages which lead to the Pashá's apartments. After passing through an anti-chamber, in which several handsome youths with pallid countenances are reading the Korán aloud, I find the Pashá stretched out at full length in one corner of his sofá in a small apartment, neat, but quite deficient in the magnificence which is often overdone in Alý's palaces. The latter, on a first visit, is generally found walking about the room; after a few words of salutation, he immediately asks his guest to be seated, more polite in this than Russians in authority, whose interviews with persons of inferior rank are on foot. Alý seems to have adopted his method as a compromise between the ordinary European custom and that of the Turks on these occasions. But Ibrahím has made no such advances in civilization: he does not move from his posture when I enter, but merely makes a motion for me to be seated. No pipes or coffee are handed: he speaks very little, and shows nothing of the curiosity, shrewdness, or engaging manners of his *brother* of Ioánnina, as the latter styled him in the letter of introduction which I brought. In manner and conversa-

tion, however, he is neither rude nor haughty. He invites me to visit any part of his territories I may wish, and has no recollection of having seen an English traveller here before, though captains of English ships have not unfrequently visited him, both here and at Avlóna; and not long since, on the occasion of a shipwreck near *Apollonia*, he clothed and fed a part of the crew and sent them to Constantinople. Some attempts to raise the ship are now in progress.

The dominions of this Vezír extend to a distance only of four hours to the south, having been reduced to that limit by Alý Pashá, who had before conquered the country as far as Paleó Pogóghiani inclusive, from Kurt Pashá, the predecessor of Ismaíl. To the north Ibrahím commands as far as Lúsnia, distant six hours on the road to Duras. He has lately acquired the district of Elbassán, and in that direction his dominion extends farthest into the mountains. Týrana and Kaváya are an appanage of the Sultan Mother, and are his boundaries in the maritime plains. At Lesh, inclusive, begins the government of the Vezír of Skódra. Ibrahím's brother was Pashá of Avlóna; since his death the government has been filled up with Ibrahím's name in the yearly nomination of the Porte; and last year that of his young son Sulimán was inserted, the Porte having been willing to augment his power as a counterpoise to that of Alý.

The Beratinós[1], to use the familiar Greek expression, is at present greatly in want of money,

[1] ὁ Βερατινός.

and, having gained his ends at Elbassán, has been glad to put an end to the war with him of Skódra [1]. Ibrahím's necessities obliged him last year to oppress some of the villages, but he was checked by the Turkish beys of Berát, who own many of them, and whom he has not mastered so completely as has been done at Ioánnina by Alý. He possesses a considerable landed property, having, when he succeeded to the Pashalík, purchased the malikhiané, or farm, for life, of all the Beylíks, which had been held by Ismaíl Pashá. As the annual payment to the Porte was calculated by the relative value of corn and money, when he obtained the grant, he has been a great gainer by the debasement of the Turkish coinage; and although the Porte will probably make a demand upon him in consequence; such demands are not very quickly complied with in Albania, when the persons upon whom they are made have the means of avoiding them.

Corn-lands in the adjacent plains generally pay half the produce to the owner: farther north, in the proportion of three to the cultivator and two to the owner; but in the latter case the farmer bears a greater share of the expences. Corn is measured here by the Bara of eight Kiasé, each of which is 100 Λίτραις, or Greek pounds, which are the same as Venetian. The crop of the rice grounds, watered by the river in the plain of Berát, is divided into three parts; one of which goes to the Pasha for mirí, and the expence of

[1] ὁ Σκόδρας.

keeping the channels in order, the other two to the owner and the cultivator. Wheat in the plain of Berát and in the Mizakía is sown at two seasons, October or November, and February. The latter bears a small hard grain, and makes excellent flour: it is called Kutzéli. Barley is also sown in February. The last harvest was very bad from the same cause which produced mortality among the cattle,—the excess of rain during the winter and spring. Flax is sown at the present season. Kalambókki (which is chiefly arabosíti or maize) in May: it is not watered, except near the river or near the canals[1] derived from it. No Christian has any landed property in the Mizakía, but the pastures are open to the public on paying a moderate κεφαλιάτικο, or tax on each head of cattle.

Berát, in vulgar Greek τὸ Μπεράτι, is named by the writers of the Lower Empire Βελάγριτα, or Βελέγραδα, which latter is still the title of the bishopric. It is nothing more than the Greek form of the same Sclavonic word, Beligrád (white fortress), of which Berát is the Albanian corruption. The name shows that the place was a part of the Bulgarian conquests, and long in possession of that people.

The castle is defended by a strong battlement in the Turkish style, raised on a wall which is flanked by square towers, but armed with only two or three small pieces of ordnance. The greater part of the inclosed space slopes in such a manner as to be entirely exposed to another height now covered with vineyards to the north-east, where the Pashá

[1] αὐλάκια.

has lately constructed a small square castle. At the foot of this hill is the principal Turkish quarter, which extends from thence up to the cliffs of the castle-hill, and is pervaded by a long bazár from one end to the other. The extremity near the castle is the only part of it inhabited by Greeks. In Gorítza, or the quarter on the left bank of the river, there are about sixty houses, which, added to those in the castle, make the Christian families amount altogether to four hundred. In the Kassabá there are about six hundred Mahometan houses. Just below Gorítza the river is crossed by a handsome bridge which was built by Kurt Pashá. From the left bank of the river rises a long and lofty ridge named Spirágri [1], beautifully clothed with wood on the slope. At the foot of it stands a palace which was built by Ismaíl Pashá, and which, having been much injured by the shot from the castle in the war which followed that Pashá's death, has since been neglected. Below Berát the Uzúmi winds to the N.N.W. through a valley called Topaltí, which expands to a breadth of three miles between the parallel ranges of Tomór and Spirágr, and at the end of eight or nine miles opens into the great maritime plains or champaign country which anciently belonged to Bullis, Apollonia, Dimallum, Dyrrachium, and some other cities of minor note. The Uzúmi, soon after entering the plain, makes

[1] The final i in this name, as in Beráti and many others, is the Greek form: the Albanians in their pronunciation omitting it.

a turn to the left, and then receives the Devól, not far from the place where the latter emerges out of a narrow gorge in the mountains to the eastward.

The castle of Berát, although a lofty point, is situated too far in the valley to command an extensive view: the sea is not visible. To the north the mountains near Króia and Týrana are pointed out to me; and in the opposite direction in a line with the Uzúmi, the hills near Skrepári and Dúsnitza, above which rises the great serrated crest of Nemértzika. The range of Tomór shuts out all view to the eastward, and the parallel range almost equally in the opposite direction.

The Hellenic remains in the castle wall, and their situation on a precipitous height overhanging the river, at the entrance of a valley leading from the plains of Illyria into the strongest parts of Epirus, afford indubitable proofs that Berát stands on the site of an ancient city of some importance. But there is no evidence in history sufficiently precise to afford any certainty as to its name. The probabilities are in favour of Antipatria, which was certainly hereabout, and is described by the historian as a great city strongly fortified, and situated in a narrow pass [1]. It was taken in the year B.C. 200, by L. Apustius, who was detached by the consul Sulpicius from his camp in the neighbouring plain, with directions to lay waste the Macedonian frontier. In strictness, indeed, this country was a part, not of Macedonia, but of Atintania,

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 27.

Dassaretia, or Illyria; but nothing is more likely than that the kings of Macedonia had added it to their dominions when their power was at its height, in the ages preceding the Roman wars, and when a new name may have been given to this place in honour of Antipater.

CHAPTER VIII.

ILLYRIA, EPIRUS.

From Berát to *Apollonia*—Plain of Topaltí—Vakopóli—Donafrós—Lúari—Stafíri—River Iénitza—Radostín—Monastery of Póllina—Poghianí—*Apollonia—Amantia, Byllis, Oricum*—Rivers *Aous, Celydnus*, and *Polyanthes—Nymphæum*—Return to Berát—and to Ioánnina—River Uzúmi—Tótjer—Venakós—Mount Trebusin—Klisúra—*Aoi Stena—Defeat of Philip by T. Quinctius*—Mounts *Æropus* and *Asnaus*—Premedí—Zagoría, Kiepería, Eleúsa—Tjersová—Mount Nemértzika—Ostanítza—*Pyrrhi Castra, and retreat of Philip thither*—Kónitza—Rivers Viósa and Voidhomáti—Mavrovúni—Pogóghiani—Ravéni—*Retreat of Philip from Pyrrhi Castra to Mount Lingon*—Sources of the river Kalamá—Kalbáki—Lykóstomo—Ioánnina.

Sept. 21.—The route from Berát to Avlóna after descending into the plain follows the course of the Beratinó, or Uzúmi, at a small distance from the river, and sometimes passes along the bank itself. The road is wide and rendered very dusty by cars, which we meet, drawn by buffalos. These beasts are entirely covered with dried mud, a consequence of the habit which they have in the summer, of rolling or immerging themselves up to their necks, and even to their nostrils, in the mud and shallow water of the rivers, lakes, or ponds. There they remain enjoying the coolness, free from the torment of insects, many hours at a time,

and when they emerge, obtain in the dried mud an armour against the flies. The carts are loaded with wood, hay, and other commodities for the use of the town. The wheels have spokes and very broad fellies, narrowed at the edge, but are so loosely and clumsily fixed to the axle as to sway about at every step with an incessant creaking. At the end of 1 hour and 50 minutes we cross the river at 5 P.M. by a handsome bridge, which was built by Kurt Pashá. Near it we meet the metropolitan bishop of Velégrada, or Berát, coming into town from his residence at Kolkóndasi, and accompanied by two priests with yataghán in their girdles and pistols in their holsters. The bishop's house in the castle of Berát is occupied by the Pashá's Grammatikós, a Greek who manages all the money concerns of the lazy Ibrahím, making good use of the favour he enjoys for his own advantage, and affecting such pride in his official station as to be above visiting the Pashá's physician, the learned Sakellário. Half an hour beyond the bridge the road ascends the hills which bound the plain of Topaltí on the west, and at 6 we arrive at Vakopóli, a village of 25 Greek houses in a retired situation among the hills, surrounded with gardens, and an extensive tract of vineyards. There are two papádhes in the village, with one of whom I lodge in a ruinous cottage, but the best in the place. He informs me that at Pakhtós, a village among the hills, an hour and a half to the left of Lúari, which is on the road from hence to Avlóna, there is a fountain of ἄσφαλτον, which rises like water out of the

ground. Strabo describes a fountain of warm water mixed with asphaltum at the Nymphæum of Apollonia [1], where a bituminous substance was extracted also in a solid form. But the latter mine, which is still wrought, is at Selenítza, near the Viósa, much nearer to *Aulon* and *Apollonia*. The fountain of pitch at Pakhtós, therefore, is different from that of Strabo, and shows the great extent of the subterraneous riches of this quarter of Greece.

The same papás describes a place near a village called Ekáli, where are two Paleá Kastra, one on a peak above the other, and the latter immediately above the river Viósa, or Vuísa, as he pronounces the name; they are in a hilly district on the right bank of that river, not far from its entrance into the plains. He measured one of the stones in the castle wall, and found it 14 σπιθαμαὶς, or spans long, and 4 high. Here also, he adds, is a great rock, inscribed with Φραγκικὰ γράμματα, or Frank words, which nobody can read; perhaps they are Latin, though I have often heard the same description given to Hellenic inscriptions by half educated Greeks. The ruins are the same as those which were described to me at Tepeléni [2]. There is a small village on the site named Grádista, a Slavonic name analogous to the Greek Kastrí. The two castles probably belonged to the same Greek city, the upper having been the Acropolis. Ekáli is reckoned 7 hours from Vako-

[1] Strabo, p. 316.

[2] They are the ruins of Bullis, as Dr. Holland has proved by the Latin inscription which he found.

póli, 6 from Avlóna, and 5 from *Apollonia*; but being inhabited by wild Tóskidhes, not in the government of Ibrahím nor controlled by Alý, whose authority does not extend along the Viósa, below Liópesi, it will, I fear, be inaccessible to me. The Greeks of Vakopóli, in common with those of all the villages which lie on the great routes, suffer extremely from the Albanian soldiers who quarter upon them.

Sept. 22.—At 7 this morning we begin to cross a ridge which separates Vakopóli from a southerly branch of the great plain of Mizakié, by the Greeks called Mizakía, or Mizakiá. At 8.30 we arrive at Donafrós, a small Musulman village with a mosque, situated in a retired valley among heights, which are the last falls of Spirágri, and the hills of Dúsnitza. This is the frontier of Mizakía and Malakástra, which last district begins from the western side of the plain of Topaltí, and, skirting the roots of these hills, extends to near Avlóna. Leaving Donafrós, we have a large opening of the plain of Mizakía on the right, and one hour and a half distant in that direction, the large village of Dronovítza, inhabited by a mixed population of Mahometans and Christians. At 9.30 Kervél is on our left, a scattered village occupying two summits, between which is a cultivated hollow. One of the summits is crowned with a church, the other with a mosque. At 10.20, crossing an extremity of one of the heights, we pass through the skirts of Lúari, a small village; the hills towards Pakhtós are chalky or gypsous. At Lúari, one of my servants being

seized with a violent fit of the intermittent fever, we are obliged to remain at a khan, a quarter of an hour beyond the village, till 4 P.M. We then cross a large branch of the plain, to the projection of a low root of the mountain which bounds it to the westward, and having turned the extremity, arrive at 5.35 at Stafíri, where a large church and a bazár show that it is a Christian village of relative importance, though the houses are mere huts of wicker and mud, without chimneys, and the bazár a row of miserable shops. The cultivation of this noble plain, capable of supplying grain to all *Illyria* and *Epirus*, with an abundance of other productions, is confined to a few patches of maize near the villages. Nevertheless the Mizakía is as well peopled as most of the great plains, either of Asiatic or European Turkey, and better than many of them. This part of it is well wooded; the hedges and great trees are festooned with wild vines, which produce a small grape of excellent flavour: and the villages in general are embosomed in clusters of trees, the huts standing far apart, each with its piece of garden ground. At Stafíri we cross a stone bridge over a lazy rivulet, named Iénitza, flowing from the heights on our left towards the *Apsus*, and here inclosed between high banks.

At 6.50, after having traversed another bay of the plain to another point of the hills, we arrive at the large scattered Turkish village of Radostín, agreeably situated at the foot of low woody hills above a grove of fine oaks. Some of the inhabitants show an inclination to insult us as we pass, until they espy a negro tatár, a favourite ser-

vant of the Vezír Ibrahím, who accompanies me, and who is well known throughout his dominions. The burying-ground of Radostín is full of pieces of fluted columns, and other fragments of the good times of antiquity. Having crossed a height beyond it, and descended a little of its western slope, we arrive at a quarter past 7 at a monastery, of which I take the correct name to be ἡ παναγία τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας, as standing upon a part of the site of Apollonia, but which the ignorant monks have been pleased to convert into the ridiculous title of ἡ παναγία τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: the vulgar name of the place is Póllina, or Póllona. A small village named Poyaní[1] lies at the foot of the hill to the north; and nearer to the monastery, in the opposite direction, a few labourers' huts called τὰ Καλύβια, in a narrow vale lying between the hill of the monastery and a parallel low ridge, clothed with small beeches. Behind the monastery, towards the summit of the hill, are some gardens and vineyards in a ruined and neglected state, (like the greater part of the extensive lands of the monastery,) the cause of which is the exposed situation of the place on a route much frequented by the Albanian soldiery, and so convenient as a halting place that parties of them often remain here for two or three days for the sake of the free quarters, and in the course of these unwelcome visits have ruined all the cells and other apartments of the building. The best lodging I can find is the cell of the Igúmenos, a little chamber perfectly Albanian as to dirtiness,

[1] Πωγιανή.

and of which the thick stone walls are gaping open at one corner. Only two monks now reside here. The church has been built and repaired at different periods, but is chiefly composed of Roman tiles, and of ancient squared stones of a large size taken from the ruins of Apollonia; some of these have been carved into monstrous ornaments of the lower ages. There remain the sepulchral monuments of two Ἡγούμενοι of the ninth century. The monastery contains some fine pieces of sculpture, which having been found, for the most part, in ploughing the fields on the ancient site, have been fixed into the walls in the room of other stones displaced for their reception. It is to this custom of adorning their convents and churches, which still generally prevails among the Greeks, that we are indebted for the preservation of the greater part of existing inscriptions and remains of art. Of those in the walls of the monastery of Apollonia the most remarkable are as follows:—1. The bust of a matron with the veil thrown over the hair, and then passing under the breast. This bust the monks say was quite perfect, until some soldiers of Berát thought proper to amuse themselves by firing their musquets at it, which has destroyed the nose and chin. 2. The bust of a young man, with curled hair, and a short thick beard covering all the lower part of his face; the breast and right shoulder are bare, and a loose garment hangs over the left shoulder and under the breast. Both these busts are of the human size, and of white marble, apparently Italian. The nose of this last bust was destroyed by the plough when it was discovered.

3. A small mnema or monumental stone, representing in relief two young persons in loose garments with the right hands joined, and the left hand of the female upon the left shoulder of the man. The face of the man is perfect, that of the female is destroyed. Her name was Prima, as appears by the letters ΠΡΙΜΑΧΑΙΡΕ over her head. 4. A very spirited Paniscus or Satyr seated on a rock, with his goat's legs crossed, grinning and blowing on the pan-pipe, which he holds with both hands. 5. A fragment of a frize, representing the lower part of the drapery, and part of the wing of a female figure flying, together with a man's front face upon a shield; around the face are locks of hair, twisted upon the forehead. 6. Another similar fragment representing in low relief a man setting one foot on the hip of a woman, and dragging her by her arms, which are passed over her head. Behind him is a warrior with a shield and flying robe, in the attitude of combat: the very common subject probably of the Greeks and Amazons. Underneath the figures is an Ionic border, which is continued round one of the other sides of the stone: there are some other figures hid in the wall. This fragment and the preceding appear to have been parts of the frize of the same building. 7. A sepulchral stone, with a man on horseback: very good. 8. Another mnema, bearing the figure of a bearded old man with a long staff in one hand; below is the head of a greyhound looking up at the man. This is roughly wrought, but in good design. 9. A dog seizing an ass, both animals on full stretch: an Ionic border below shows that it

was part of a frize. 10. Another piece of frize too high in the wall to be seen; it seems to be a man on horseback opposed to a lion, while behind him another wild beast seizes an ox. 11. Two front faces with locks of hair hanging down on either side; part of a frize. 12. The head of a lion, which anciently served for a spout.

There are only three inscriptions, and all merely sepulchral, but curious as all containing Roman names, and thus according with the known fact of Apollonia having been much resorted to by the Romans, who sent hither their youth to study the literature and philosophy of Greece. Augustus had thus passed six months when the death of Cæsar called him to Rome[1]. One of the inscriptions is in memory of Lucius Licinius Tere(ntius), who died at the age of 65[2]; another was in honour of Titus Julius Clemens, who died at 45, and whose wife's name, Claudia Therine, was only half Roman[3]. The third is the monument in honour of Prima.

It was at the end of the seventh century before the Christian æra, that this fertile part of Illyria first received the laws and customs of Greece. Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were then colonized by the Corcyræi, who, according to ancient custom, placed at the head of each colony a leader from Corinth, as being the metropolis of Corcyra itself. The northern colony was named Epidam-

[1] Sueton. in August. c. 8, 10, &c. Dion. Cass. l. 45, c. 3. Paterc. l. 2, c. 59.

[2] Inscription No. 4.

[3] Inscription No. 5.

nus, the southern Gylacia, from Gylax, the Corinthian leader, but neither appellation continued long in use, those of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia having prevailed[1]. Apollonia is described by the ancient authors as situated at a distance of ten stades from the right bank of the Aous[2], fifty[3] or sixty[4] stades, or four miles[5], from the sea, two days' journey to the south of Dyrrhachium[6], twenty-five Roman miles from Aulon[7], and three hundred and twenty stades[8], or thirty Roman miles[9], from Amantia. There are some traces of walls close to the monastery on the north, extending from thence upwards to the summit of the hill, and along that summit in a northerly direction. Below the monastery they followed the crest of the ridge to the plain, where their traces are lost. There is also part of a transverse wall which, a little below the monastery, branches from the main wall to the northward. To the southward of the hill of the monastery are the remains of two temples, one in the valley at the Kalývia, the other beyond that valley, at the extremity of the heights which rise from that side of it. The former temple appears from some fragments to have been Ionic. The

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 24, 26. Scymn. Ch. v. 435, 438. Strabo, p. 316. Plin. H. N. l. 3, c. 26. Euseb. Chron. U. C. 120. Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 22. Stephan. in Ἀπολλωνία, Δυρράχιον, Γυλακία.

[2] Strabo, ibid. Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[3] Scylax in Ἰλλύριοι.

[4] Strabo, ibid.

[5] Plin. H. N. l. 3, c. 23.

[6] Scylax, ibid.

[7] Antonin. Itin. p. 329. Wessel.

[8] Scylax, ibid.

[9] Tab. Peutinger, seg. 5.

low situation and deep loam of this valley seemed to promise, that some considerable remains of the temple might still be concealed below the surface; but on inquiring of the monks, I was informed that no less than seventy cart loads of materials had been taken from thence to build the new serái at Berát. Similar spoliations have been committed at the western temple, and so recently that the excavation made to carry away the foundations, of which not a single stone is left, affords a very tolerable measurement of the length and breadth of the building. One column standing in solitary grandeur is the only part of it which has been spared by the Pashá's masons. The length of the temple was about 135 feet, the breadth 55; the column, which has 20 Doric flutings, with a capital more spreading than in the Parthenon, and probably more ancient, is 14 feet in circumference at its base, and consequently $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, which, compared with the dimensions of the ground plan, and supposing an intercolumniation of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, would lead to the belief that the temple was a hexastyle with 14 columns on the side. The extant column is composed of 12 pieces of stone, and the height is about 22 feet, including the capital and plinth, which are of a single stone, and together about 2 feet 9 inches high. The material is a dull white limestone, hard, but nevertheless much injured by time and the effect of the sea air. At Kalývia there is a fountain, perhaps the ancient Cephissus which was near the gymnasium[1]. These

[1] Strabo, p. 424.

are the only vestiges I can find of the great Apollonia. The existing line of walls meeting in an angle at the summit of the hill behind the monastery, and diverging from thence to the north, tends to show that the city faced the north-west, and that the two temples and gymnasium were without the walls, which would have been very far from a singularity. It is possible, at the same time, that the present remains of walls may not be of Hellenic times, as there are no certain marks of such antiquity in them. If the woody height to the southward were explored, some other vestiges might perhaps be found, which would give a clue to the dimensions and general plan of the city.

The hill of Apollonia is not of sufficient height to command a very extensive prospect, or to afford a very advantageous geographical station, though by no means useless in this respect. To the south-westward is seen the island of Sázona, twenty degrees to the right of the northern end of which is the mouth of the Viósa, and seventy-two farther to the right that of the river of Berát, forming a long promontory. The farthest part of the shore to the north is the hill of Kaváya, appearing as an island. A little to the left of Sázona is seen Cape Glossa, or the *Acroceraunian* extremity, between which and the island is the southern entrance into the Gulf of Avlóna. That town is not visible, being hidden by some heights on the eastern side of the lagoon, which extends along the shore at the northern entrance of the gulf. To the left of Glossa occurs the *Acroceraunian* ridge, separated by the valley of Nivitza from the range of Griva,

which bounds the valley of the Viósa to the westward. At the northern extremity of this range is the district of Kúdhesi, containing twenty villages and a lofty summit, forming a conspicuous termination to the range of Griva. To the left of the mountain of Kúdhesi appears that of Skrepári, to the south-east of Mount Tomór, then the gigantic Tomór itself, occupying eight degrees of the horizon. The hill of Spirágr, which bounds the plain of Berát, extends several degrees to the northward of Mount Tomór, and in the midst of the plain watered by the *Apsus*, or river of Berát, is seen the height of Ardhenítza, so called from a monastery on the summit.

The valleys of Dukádhes and Nívitza formed anciently the territory of the Amantini, or Amantienses, or Amantes[1], the last of which forms was preferred by the people, and was employed by them on their money, in memory of their origin from the Abantes of Eubœa, who settled near the Ceraunian mountains after the war of Troy, and possessed Oricus and Thronium[2]. That the district of Amantia lay in that direction from Apollonia and Oricus is confirmed by Cæsar[3], while the distances afforded by Scylax and the Tabular Itinerary[4], added to the evidence of Hellenic walls

[1] Ἀμαντῖνοι, Ἀμαντιεῖς, Ἄμαντες.

[2] . . . . καὶ Ἀμαντίνην ᾤκεσαν Ὡρικίην.—Callim. ap. Stephan. in Ἀβάντις. Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 22. Stephan. in Ἀβάντις, Ἀμαντία. Etym. Mag. in Ἄμαντες.

[3] Cæsar de Bell. Civ. l. 3, c. 40.

[4] Scylax in Ἰλλύριοι. Tab. Peutinger, seg. v. The former places Amantia at 320 stades, the latter at 30 Roman miles from Apollonia.

at Nívitza, show that place to have been the site of the town of Amantia. The only objection which can be made to this conclusion is, that according to Ptolemy both Bullis and Amantia were on the sea-coast between Aulon and the mouth of the Celydnus[1], in which he seems to agree with Cæsar, who just before he quitted this quarter for the siege of Dyrrhachium, left a detachment of his fleet under Lælius to prevent supplies from being thrown into Oricus from Amantia and Bullis. The only mode of reconciling the apparent inconsistency is to suppose that Amantia, Bullis, and Apollonia, possessing all the country adjacent to the Gulf of Aulon, and being all situated at some distance from the coast, had each of them a port or maritime dependency on the gulf. It was probably to these maritime places that Ptolemy alluded, and towards them that the vigilance of Lælius was chiefly directed, in order to intercept supplies intended for Oricus.

The branch of the Aous, which irrigated the valley of Amantia, would seem from Lycophron to have been named Polyanthes[2]. As to Thronium,

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[2] . . . . . εἰς Ἀβαντίαν πόλιν
Πλώσει, πέλας δὲ γῆς Ἀτιντάνων μόλων,
Πράκτιν παρ' αὐτὴν αἰπὺ νάσσεται λέπας,
Τοῦ Χαονίτου νᾶμα Πολυάνθους δρέπων.
Lycoph. v. 1043.

The poet supposes Elephenor the ἄρχος Ἀβάντων, who, according to Homer, was slain by Agenor at Troy, to have brought a colony first to Othronus (Fanú), and afterwards to have founded Amantia.

it appears to have stood at the northern extremity of the Amantine territory, on the borders of that of Apollonia, for it was reduced by the Apolloniatæ and added to their district in an early age, as appears by an epigram annexed to a groupe of statuary at Olympia, which the Apolloniatæ had dedicated on that occasion from the tenth of the spoil[1].

It is remarkable that the Roman road from Apollonia to Nicopolis by Hadrianopolis, in the valley of Arghyrókastro, ascended the *Amantine* valley, and not that of the *Aous*, although the latter is at least as direct, and there was a continuity of plain or valley from Apollonia to Hadrianopolis without any intervening mountain; whereas, on the former route, some high ridges are interposed between the head of the valley of Amantia and the plain of Hadrianopolis. Possibly there were some rocky projections on the banks of the Aous, which it would have required great labour to render passable, or frequent ferries or bridges, which it was desirable to avoid[2].

Selenítza, where the mines of pitch mentioned by Strabo are found, is about four hours to the

[1] Μνάματ' Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα τὰν ἐπὶ πόντῳ
Ὤικισεν Ἰωνίῳ Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμας,
Οἱ γᾶς τέρμαθ' ἑλόντες Ἀβαντίδος, ἐνθάδε ταῦτα
Ἔστασαν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Θρονίου δεκάταν.

Ap. Pausan. Eliac. pr. c. 22.

[2] It would seem, however, from the inscription of Grádista, before referred to, that there was a Roman road in the valley of the Aous, leading from the colony of Bullis to some other place. But this inscription is long anterior to the Itineraries.

north-eastward of Avlóna, near the left bank of the Viósa, not far above the junction of the river of Nívitza, and a little below Grádista, which is on the opposite side of the river. The asphaltum is dug out of the earth in large masses, mixed with a considerable quantity of earth. Ibrahím Pashá farms the mine from the Porte, and is said to receive from those to whom he underlets it 120,000 piastres a year. It is a hard black resin [1], and when mixed with vegetable pitch is much used in the Adriatic in the careening of boats. Strabo, or rather Posidonius, whom he cites, had an idea that earth thrown into the mine was converted into pitch: the fact, perhaps, is, that the asphaltum, liquified by subterraneous heat, flows in that state into the cavities of the earth, whether natural or formed by the excavations from which asphaltum had been already extracted, and that it there hardens, whence the mineral may appear to be continually renewed in the same cavity. Near the mine a gaseous effluvia on the surface of the ground sometimes takes fire, and maintains a flame for several days. This is evidently the cele-

[1] The familiar allusion to this substance by Ovid, shows still more strongly than its mention by Strabo, that the mine was extensively worked under the Romans:

> Nominibus mollire licet mala; fusca vocetur
> Nigrior Illyricâ cui pice sanguis erit.
> Art. Am. l. 2, v. 657.

> Adde quod Illyricâ si jam pice nigrior essem,
> Non mordenda mihi turba fidelis erat.
> Epist. ex Ponto, l. 4, Ep. 14. v. 45.

brated Nymphæum of Apollonia[1], which is recorded on the coins of that city by the type of three nymphs dancing round a flame[2].

Sept. 27, 28, 29, 30.—Instead of exploring Illyria and Chaonia any farther, I was obliged to employ these four days in returning to Berát, in consequence of a violent fever which assumed an intermittent form. Being unable to sit upon a horse for more than half an hour at a time, I was under the necessity of performing the greater part of the journey in the arabás of the Mizakía. The first day I halted at Kalkóndasi, and lodged in the house of the Bishop of Velégrada (Berát). In the walls of the church are several fragments (brought probably from Apollonia) of sculptures in low relief, and of architectural ornaments, and there is a tomb-stone with an inscription of lower times, but not Christian. The next day I crossed over the hill of Ardhenítza, which stands in the middle of the Mizakía, and in a great monastery on the summit found the Bishop, whose house

[1] The mines and Nymphæum were visited in 1813 by Dr. Holland, who descended into the mine. He remarked also, in the vicinity, several places where streams of carburetted hydrogen, emanating from the earth, readily burnt on the application of flame.

Mr. Jones, who examined the place in the year 1815, discovered, in a situation two miles higher up the river than the mines, some remains of ancient buildings, which are perhaps ruins of a temple of the Nymphs. The rock, it seems, is of the same gypsous kind as that about Pakhtós.

[2] It is particularly described by Dion Cassius, l. 41, c. 45, and by Ælian. V. H. l. 13, c. 16. According to the latter, it was called τὸ ἀθάνατον πῦρ, as constantly burning.

I had quitted in the morning, together with his aged predecessor, who had resigned in his favour, and the venerable Igúmenos of the convent, all of whom were extremely kind to me. Our progress was the slower, as I found it impossible to hire a car for the whole journey, and was obliged to change it frequently. On the third day we crossed the point of the hill of Spirágr into the plain of Topaltí, and at night I lodged in a store-house among casks, baskets, and bags of corn. Here the fever, not having been improved by the jolting of an Illyrian cart for three days, with intervals of riding in the sun, assumed a form which is not uncommon in Italy and Greece, and is called by the Italian practitioners a doppia terzana, because the fever returns daily, but with increased violence on the alternate days. These alternate fits were accompanied by delirium, and on the second occurrence by complete insensibility.

Oct. 14.—Having been restored by the good care and judicious treatment of my friend Sakellário, to a state just equal to travelling, I quit Berát this day for Ioánnina, being, in consequence of the delay that has occurred, under the necessity of giving up the intention of visiting Dýrrhachium, and tracing the operations of Pompey, Cæsar, and Brutus. This has been doubly unfortunate, because having intended after visiting the maritime Illyria, to follow the entire Egnatian way to Saloníki, I had preferred the direct road from Korytzá to Berát across Mount Tomór to the circuitous but much more interesting route by 'Akhridha and Elbassán, which was a part of that Roman road.

At 1 P.M. we cross the bridge of Berát, pass through the small Greek quarter called Gorítza, at the foot of the opposite hill, then skirt the river for a quarter of an hour, and enter a valley which branches to the right of the main vale of the Uzúmi. Here the road in many parts passes along the bed of a torrent, and at other times over branches of rugged barren hills, which exclude the prospect on both sides, except that sometimes the rocks of Tomór appear on the left. The Uzúmi is at no great distance in the same direction; one of the roads leading from Berát to the southward passes along its banks, but that which we travel is the most frequented. After an hour's riding the rain begins to fall, and continues, with short intermissions, until at 5.30 we arrive at the Khan of Tótjer, so called from a village of that name, half a mile distant, in the steep hills to the right, and consisting only of a mosque and three or four large Mahometan houses. The latter part of our road was over a very steep branch of the hills, and was, for the most part, paved. These heights are cultivated only near several dispersed hamlets of three or four houses, situated generally on steep summits. The vegetation bears all the marks of an advanced autumn. The Khan of Tótjer, which stands in a narrow bottom between rugged hills, has been lately improved by Ibrahím Pashá. Though the doors and windows have no security to prevent their being blown open by the wind, which perhaps might be too much to expect in an Albanian khan, the floor at least is much more compact than that of the Πρωτο-Πραγ-

ματευτὴς, or first merchant of Berát, and the roof a better defence against the rain—a fortunate circumstance, as in consequence of a deluge which falls all night,

Oct. 15.—The torrents are reported impassable, until the afternoon, when it is too late to reach Klisúra, the nearest place where any provender for the horses can be obtained.

Oct. 16.—At 7.45, continuing our course along the ravine, bordered as before by rugged hills, we arrive, in less than three quarters of an hour, at a stream which flows to the left through a gorge into the Uzúmi, and from thence, for near half an hour, we ascend the bed of this torrent, which is now but just safe for the baggage horses. We then turn into the channel of a branch of the same river, and at 10, crossing a height, descend, in half an hour, into a vale watered by a stream which flows to join the Viósa near Klisúra. The hills are of the same description as those mentioned on the 14th, but the cultivation and the hamlets are more thinly dispersed. One small village only with a mosque was in sight, in a lofty situation on the right. As we advance, the great ridge of Trebusín, which appears higher on this side than from Tepeléni, stretches in a direction parallel to the valley we are following, which becomes a little broader as we descend it, and is covered with fields of arabosíti, not yet gathered in. From 11.30 until 1 we halt at the khan of Venakós, so called from a village of that name situated a mile on the right, amid rugged hills at the foot of Mount Trebusín. On

proceeding, our road, every where extremely bad, often crosses the river, and then pursues, for a short distance, the course of its stony bed: the valley is still narrow and grown with maize. On the left are hills more rugged, but in other respects of the same description as before. Behind them rises a lofty range, but not so high as Trebusín.

Thus we continue our route till 3.45, when we find ourselves opposite the village and castle of Klisúra, at the entrance of a valley which is here about a mile in width. Instead of following the direct road, which ascends the Viósa to Premedí, we turn to the right, and in eight minutes begin to mount a steep slope at the foot of the eastern extremity of Mount Trebusín, which rises bare and precipitous above it, and soon arrive in the scattered village of Klisúra, containing about one hundred and fifty houses of Musulmans, who for the most part speak only Albanian. A little beyond the village an immense edge of rock descends from the summit of the mountain to the river, and forms, together with the opposite mountain, which is separated from it only by the river Viósa, the eastern entrance of the celebrated pass anciently called the Fauces Antigonenses, or Stená of the Aous, and now the Stená of the Viósa. Klisúra has obviously received its name, which is analogous to the Latin Clusium, and other similar appellations, from its situation. It is mentioned by Cantacuzenus in the fourteenth century, together with other places which are still to be recognised as having been the chief strong-holds in

this part of Greece[1]. The river, after having followed a north-western direction from its sources, here suddenly turns a little to the southward of west; and having pursued this course for twelve miles, between two high mountains of extreme steepness, then recovers its north-western direction, which it preserves to the sea. Above the village of Klisúra, at an elevation of about one-third of the summit of the mountain, the Vezír Alý has constructed a castle, consisting only of a square white-washed inclosure of a single wall, with a tower at each angle, but perfectly commanding the only road into the pass which leads along a cornice over the right bank of the Viósa. The castle occupies the site of an ancient fortress, as appears from some remains of a Hellenic wall near the entrance. Half way between the castle and the river stands a serái lately built by Alý Pashá.

The mountain on the opposite or left bank of the river, is the northern extremity of the great ridge of Nemértzika, much lower than that summit, but nearly equal to Trebusín in height. At the top it is a bare perpendicular precipice, but the steep lower slope, unlike that of its opposite neighbour, is clothed with trees quite to the river. Through the opening between them is seen a magnificent variety of naked precipices and hanging woods, inclosing the broad and rapid stream of the *insinuating* river[2].

[1] Cantacuz. l. 2, c. 32. Besides Κλεισοῦρα, he mentions Βελάγριτα, (Berát,) Κάνινα, Σκρεπάριον, and Τίμωρον, (Tomór.)

[2] . . . . . per ipsas angustias qua se inter valles flumen (Aous) insinuat.—Liv. l. 32, c. 13.

It was on this singular field, in the year B.C. 198, that the Romans obtained the first and therefore the most important of a series of victories, which extinguished for ever the independence of Greece. The young consul, T. Quinctius Flamininus, being resolved to avoid the fault of his two predecessors, Sulpicius and Villius, who had allowed the greater part of their consulships to expire before they entered Macedonia, lost no time after his election at Rome in crossing the Adriatic, from Brundusium to Corcyra, with a reinforcement of near 9000 men ; and from thence, with equal celerity, proceeded into Epirus, where he assumed the command of the Roman army. Their camp was at a distance of five miles from the enemy: who was intrenched in the pass of the Aous, called the Stena, and on the steep mountains on either side of it, and who had fortified all the weaker points with ditches, ramparts, and military engines. Philip had occupied this position ever since the beginning of the spring. His main body was encamped on Mount Æropus, on a conspicuous summit of which his own tent was placed. Athenagoras with the light troops was stationed on Mount Asnaus, on the opposite side of the river.

Flamininus, after due consideration, adopted the intention of his predecessor Villius, and determined to force his way through the passes, instead of entering Macedonia by a circuitous route, through Dassaretia, as Sulpicius had done. But the undertaking was of extreme difficulty, and 40 days were passed in inactivity, with the excep-

tion only of a fruitless attempt to make peace by means of a conference which was held between Quinctius and Philip, in the narrowest part of the pass, and which was abruptly broken off by the king, on hearing the unreasonable propositions of the Consul. On the following day there was an action first in a plain just large enough to admit of it[1], and then in the pass into which the Macedonians retired; and where the superior discipline and skill of the Romans were fully compensated by the strength of position and the catapeltic engines of the Macedonians. The loss on both sides was great, and night alone put an end to the combat. Soon after this event, Charops of Megara, in Molossis, to whom the Romans had already been indebted for information and assistance, sent to the Consul a shepherd who undertook to guide a detachment of the Roman army in three days, by a circuitous route, to the summit of the mountain which was above and in the rear of the camp of Philip. Four thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen were sent upon this service, and were ordered to march only in the night, the moon being then at the full.

During the two days of their circuitous route, the Consul disposed his army for a general attack, and at the same time occupied the enemy's attention by frequent assaults. On the third day, when he saw the concerted signal made by his troops with smoke on the summit of the mountain, he moved forward with his whole army, marching himself in the centre at the bottom of the valley,

[1] In planitie, satis ad id patenti, c. 10.

and sending forward his wings on either side. The Macedonians advanced out of their intrenchments, but found the enemy so superior to them, as well in valour and science as in armour, that they retreated again behind their defences. The Romans then became the assailants, and would have suffered for their rashness, in proceeding over very difficult ground against a well-fortified position, had not their detachment on the summit of the hill at the same moment advanced to the attack of the enemy's rear; when a shout in that direction having revealed the truth to the Macedonians, threw them instantly into a disorderly flight, and their whole army would have been destroyed, had it been possible for horsemen or heavy armed infantry to pursue with effect over such rugged ground.

The king retreated 5 miles to a height, from whence, suspecting that the Romans would be unable to follow him, he sent out parties of the troops who accompanied him, to collect the remainder of his dispersed forces from the mountains and ravines, and to protect their retreat. By these means there were not more than 2000 of his men missing, when the army began a disorderly retreat towards Thessaly. The next day the Romans, who had passed the night in Philip's camp, emerged from the straits, and pursued the enemy. On the first day Philip reached a place named Castra Pyrrhi, in Melotis; on the following day he encamped on Mount Lingon, and from thence, after deliberating for some days whether he should

take the route to Macedonia, he proceeded at length to Tricca, in Thessaly [1].

Although it is not expressly stated either by Livy or Plutarch, that the camp of Philip was on the right side of the river, and that of Athenagoras on the left, it could hardly have been otherwise, as the road is continuous only on the right bank through the whole pass, and as that side alone affords such an extent of open space as seems absolutely necessary for the encounter which took place on the day of Philip's defeat. The height to which the king then retreated seems, from the distance mentioned by the historian, to have been that of Klisúra, which furnished a good defensive position, and was well adapted to the king's design, of collecting his scattered forces. Valerius Antias, a Latin historian, asserted that Villius, while in command of the Roman army, had entered the pass, thrown a bridge over the river, and attacked the enemy; but Livy opposes to his testimony that of all the other Greek and Latin writers, who were agreed that Villius had done nothing worthy of mention. Hence it is credible that Philip was in possession of the entire pass until he was attacked by Quinctius, and consequently, that until that day the Roman camp was 5 miles from the western end of the pass, probably in the valley of the Dryno, above its junction with the Viósa. The plain, therefore, near the western entrance of the pass, between

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 5, 6, 9, et seq. Plutarch. in Flamin.

Kotra and Tepeléni, would seem to have been the scene of the combat which occurred on the day after the conference between the two commanders. If Philip's camp was on the right bank of the Aous, it follows of course that Mount Trebusín is the ancient Æropus, and the opposite mountain, or northern termination of Mount Nemértzika, the ancient Asnaus. Whether the latter name belonged to the whole of that great mountain, it is impossible to say, no ancient author having distinctly alluded to it, although it is one of the most remarkable in Greece.

Plutarch has added nothing to the narrative of the Latin historian worthy of notice, except his description of the pass, in which, if he is more than usually clear and accurate, it is probably because he has borrowed freely from the same Greek historian from whom Livy chiefly derived his information. Plutarch describes the Straits of the Aous as not less strong than the similar defile of the Peneius at Tempe: "It is deficient," he adds, "in the beautiful groves, the verdant forests, the pleasant retreats, and the meadows which border the Peneius; but in the lofty and precipitous mountains, in the profundity of the narrow fissure between them, in the rapidity and magnitude of the river, in the single narrow path along the bank, the two places exactly resemble. Hence it is difficult for an army to pass under any circumstances, and impossible when the place is defended by an enemy[1]."

[1] εἰ δὲ καὶ φυλάττοιτο, παντελῶς ἄπορον—a remark not exactly confirmed by the fact which Plutarch proceeds to relate.

In all the editions of Plutarch there is an error in the name of the river, which by the substitution of a ψ for an ω has been made Apsus instead of Aous. That it really is an error cannot admit of a doubt, for no position on the Apsus can be reconciled with the circumstances of the battle, or with those which occurred before and after it. Nor does the Apsus, or indeed any other river in Greece, flow through a defile which so nearly resembles that of the *Peneius* as these Straits of the Viósa, although they are not to be compared to the Thessalian Tempe in beauty and grandeur, as well in consequence of the deficiencies remarked by Plutarch, as from the smaller dimensions of the river, and including mountains which constitute the main features of both these defiles.

Oct. 17.—Having descended to the point of the road from Berát to Premedí, from whence we turned to Klisúra, we proceed from thence at 7.10 to follow up the valley, until having reached, in about three quarters of an hour, a spot where a low branch of the hills on the left touches the Viósa, we pass close along its right bank. The river is deep and rapid, but not so much swollen as might have been expected after the late rains. In a quarter of an hour the valley becomes wider again ; the chief produce continues to be maize ; the upper part of the plant has been cut off for the cattle, the pods alone remaining on the stem to ripen in the sun. Musulman tombs are frequent on the road side, and the same was observable in every part of the district of Berát. The ridge of Nemértzika follows the same south-easterly direction as before, and so continues as far as Pa-

leó Pogóghiani : the highest summit is a little to the southward of Premedí. On our left are some secondary heights which unite Tomór and the mountain of Skrepári with the central range of *Pindus*, and which have a general direction parallel to Nemértzika ; they are very uneven in their forms, but are cultivated in many parts.

At a turning of the hills, an hour from Premedí, we come in sight of its castle, situated on a low acclivity overhanging the Viósa, at the foot of the steep slope of Mount Nemértzika. The town lies to the eastward of the castle, in a narrow bottom on the side of the river, which for a considerable distance below the town, flows rapid, full, and turbid, between banks composed of a rock which is a congregate of small pebbles united by a white cement. Where this substance prevails as it does immediately opposite to the town, and for some distance below it, the valley is quite barren, while in higher situations, especially on the eastern hills, the land is fertile and well cultivated. At 10.30 we cross the Viósa by a bridge, and enter the town.

Premedí[1], sometimes called Permedí, or Perméti, contains about 300 Musulman and 100 Christian families. The houses are built of loose stones put together without cement—a kind of masonry not uncommon in Albania; and few of them have walls which are quite perpendicular. That which is assigned me for a lodging, belonging to a tailor now absent, is tolerably comfortable within,

[1] Πρεμεντή.

and far better than any I saw at Berát. One of the most remarkable objects is a high rock on the northern side of the town, towards the river, the summit of which is surrounded by a ruined wall, containing within it a pool of water supposed to possess medicinal virtues. According to the local tradition, Premedí belonged once to the Spaniards. Above the town the Vezír Alý has lately built a new fortress, in the form of an oblong quadrangle, flanked with towers at the angles, and at intervals also on the sides. It stands like many such constructions in Turkey, on a slope, and one angle is commanded at a very short distance. The castle was prolonged on the descent in great measure for the purpose of including an old ruinous Serái, which Alý's avarice not allowing him to pull down, he has thus, as he now admits, injured his castle, without escaping from the necessity of constructing a new Serái near the upper wall. An Italian renegade calling himself Sulimán Agá, who has been employed as engineer on this occasion, informs me that he did not find any traces of antiquity when he cleared and dug the ground for the foundations, though it is the spot where the Acropolis is likely to have been, if Premedí was an ancient site, which is highly probable. The great ridge of Nemértzika rises with extraordinary abruptness behind the castle. Beyond it is the valley of Zagoría, watered by the stream which continues through that of Kiepería, and joins the Viósa in the pass of Klisúra. Zagoría consists of several villages, inhabited chiefly by Christian artisans and travelling tradesmen; some

of whom proceed as far as Germany. Between Zagoría and Libókhovo is the district of Liuntja.

Mukhtár Pashá, who is stationed here by his father, in consequence of some suspicions of war with the Pashá of Skodra; and because the place is centrical, and convenient for collecting the Toshke, returns this afternoon from a hunting party at Eleúsa, a village in the mountains, four hours distant. This name is remarkable for its Greek form, amidst so many others of indigenous or Sclavonic derivation, and tends to the belief that Elæus, which Ptolemy enumerates among the inland cities of Chaonia, was situated at Eleúsa. But in this case Elæus was a different place from the plain Elæon mentioned by Livy, which was evidently that of Arghyrókastro. It will be necessary also to suppose that Ptolemy is in error in regard to the province to which he attributes Elæus —namely, Chaonia: for the valley of Premedí was certainly not a part of Chaonia, but lay between the Atintanes and the tribes of Upper Macedonia, and probably belonged to the Paravæi, who received that name as dwelling on the banks of the Aua, which appears to have been one of the ancient names of the Viósa. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that although Eleúsa may be an ancient name preserved, it has nothing in common with the Elæus of Chaonia.

Oct. 19.—At 10.30, proceeding from Premedí, we continue to follow the route by which Philip fled before the victorious legions of Rome. At 11.20 we cross to the right bank of the river by a somewhat dangerous ford, at a spot where the stream

is compressed between rocks of the same kind as those near Premedí. It is a position in which Philip's rear-guard might easily have checked a pursuing enemy; but as Quinctius did not complete his march through the Straits until the day after the battle [1], and Philip seems not to have lost a moment in commencing his retreat, there was little chance of his being overtaken.

Beyond the ford of the Viósa the valley is in no part more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, being bounded to the right by the last falls of the abrupt Nemértzika, and on the other side by a continuation of the parallel range of rugged hills which I before described. In some places there is no valley, and the road crosses over the hills. At 2.40 we turn out of the main route to the left, and ascend the rugged heights in order to gain the village of Tjersóva [2] for our konák; the steep acclivities are clothed with shrubs; of which the most common are the arbutus and andrachne, both covered with a mixture of blossoms and ripe fruit. The first has a smooth red stem, large leaves like a laurel, and a small tasteless fruit, growing in a racemus; the andrachne a rough brown stem, small serrated dark-coloured leaves, and a larger fruit growing singly. Both plants are called κουμαριὰ, which is the ancient κόμαρος, little changed. Tzersóva, which we reach in fifty minutes from the valley, stands on the eastern side of the ridge, just below the summit, and contains forty-five houses,

[1] Postero die, per ipsas angustias hostem sequitur.—Liv. l. 32, c. 13.

[2] Τζερσόβα.

surrounded by vineyards, below which are a few corn-fields on the slope. All the mountains around are much broken and intersected by ravines: the summits near Kónitza are conspicuous to the eastward, with the branches of the same range towards Mount Russotári. On the opposite side of the valley of the *Aous*, and almost immediately above the point from which we began to mount the hills, are the most precipitous of those great cliffs of Nemértzika which are so remarkable from Ioánnina and other distant places: the summits of these rocks are hid in the clouds, while their bases are but a little above the level of the valley and river. They are probably between two and three thousand feet in height.

Oct. 20.—At 7 we descend by a rugged path, and in three quarters of an hour re-enter the main road in the valley of the Viósa, at a spot which is about thirty-five minutes from where we left it. The valley is narrow and grown with maize: the lower slope of Mount Nemértzika, though still exceedingly steep, is more practicable than before, and there is a monastery upon it, as well as one or two small villages, which, like those on the hills to our left, are inhabited by Musulman Albanians. At 9.5 we ford a large branch of the Viósa, of which the sources are in the mountains on the left, near Khierásovo. At the junction, the Viósa, by means of a derivation perhaps artificial, forms a large island, at the upper point of which is a mill, turned by a part of the water of a cascade which falls over the bank of the Viósa; behind

these objects an old deserted monastery completes a most picturesque scene.

At 9.20 we cross the main river by a bridge high and narrow, and with scarcely any defences on the sides. Here again the stream, being compressed between the rocks, is narrow, and too deep to be forded, though below at the mill it was so shallow as to be forded by asses. Immediately after crossing the river we begin to ascend a lofty root of Nemértzika, and at 9.40, near the summit of the ridge, pass Ostanítza, once a place of importance, but now small: the people have built a khan on the road, which, affording better accommodation than any of their own huts, relieves them from the lodging of travellers. Ostanítza, being about thirty-two miles by the road from Klisúra, and lying in the direction which Philip was pursuing towards the modern districts of Zagóri and Métzovo, is probably the position of the Castra Pyrrhi, at which the king arrived in his retreat on the afternoon of the first day after the battle. The position was exactly suited to his circumstances, being a strong height, well defended in the direction of the enemy by the narrow gorge through which the river passes immediately below Ostanítza. No remains of antiquity, however, are to be observed here.

At the summit of the ridge of Ostanítza we arrive in sight of Kónitza, a large town, situated on the right bank of the Viósa, at the foot of an abrupt termination of the central range of Pindus, but considerably elevated above the valley. It ap-

pears to contain 800 or 1000 houses. The adjacent mountain is rugged, broken by torrents, and covered with wood: behind it rise the bare precipices of Mount Lázari, one of the highest points of the central range, often called the mountain of Pápingo, from a village at its foot belonging to the sub-district of Ioánnina, named Zagóri. The heights of Kónitza are separated from those of Ostanítza by a plain about six miles in diameter, through which the Viósa winds along a broad stony bed, and then, entering the hills, pursues a serpentine course for two miles through them in approaching Ostanítza, beyond which it passes through the narrow glen, a little above the island to which I before alluded. In the plain the Viósa is joined by another great component branch of the *Aous* called the Voidhomáti, (ox eye, or fountain,) which issues from a deep ravine of the mountains of Zagóri, a few miles to the south-east of Kónitza: the Viósa itself enters the plain immediately below Kónitza, through a narrow opening between two precipices higher and more abrupt even than those of Klisúra.

Our road now leads through a wood of oaks of small size and of various kinds. At 10.20 we halt twenty minutes at a fountain in the middle of the wood to dine; then descend the hill into a narrow valley, where at 12.30 Mavrovúni, a Zagorite village, is near us on the left, and two miles on the right Pogóghiani, which, though small, gives name to a district extending northward from thence to the sources of the Sukha, or branch of

the Dryno, which enters the plain of Derópoli at Libókhovo. Delvináki is now the chief town. The great cliffs of Nemértzika terminate above Ostanítza, where they suddenly fall to a lower woody branch which connects that mountain with a high rocky peak to the northward of Delvináki. Between the latter and an inferior range, which has a northerly direction, stretches a long slope, on which appear some of the villages of Pogóghiani: through an opening at its northern extremity I recognize the summit near Lábovo, called Strakavétzi, and to the left of it one side of the Klisúra of Libókhovo. At the end of the valley we ascend a steep hill, and a little beyond the summit arrive, at 1.15, at Ravéni, containing eighty poor houses, and included among the villages of Zagóri.

It is probable that our road from Ostanítza to this place has no longer coincided with the route of Philip, and that in his second day's march he followed a more eastern line, crossing the plain to the westward of Kónitza, and making as direct a course as possible to the highlands of Zagóri, which he may have conveniently entered about Artzísta. Livy's description of Mount Lingon is so exactly applicable to Zagóri, that we cannot doubt the identity, nor that he adopted that description from Polybius, who was well acquainted with the country. The Latin historian remarks that Lingon (in Greek Λίγγος, or Λίγγον) was a mountainous district of Epirus, bordering on Macedonia northward, and on Thessaly eastward, covered with woods, but in

the higher parts containing open plains and perennial waters[1]. Although it might be more correct to say "fertile valleys," than "open plains," in reference to Zagóri, the only plain properly so called being that of Imperatoria, the description leaves at least no question that the line of Philip's retreat was through Zagóri to Imperatoria, where he was probably encamped while undecided whether he should retreat into Macedonia or Thessaly; for at one end of that plain the road to Grevená, in *Upper Macedonia*, begins to cross the great ridge of *Pindus;* and from the other end branches that which leads over the Zygós of Métzovo into *Upper Thessaly*. The name Lingon I should conceive to have been particularly attached to those summits in the middle of Zagóri, which are embraced on the north and east by the extreme branches of the *Aous*, and on the west and south by those of the *Arachthus*. It is remarkable that one of the villages of Zagóri is named Linghiádhes[2]. It is situated on the eastern side of Mitzikéli, which mountain is separated only by the valley of the northern branch of the *Arachthus* from the mountain which I imagine to have been the proper Lingon. As soon as Philip had arrived on the second day of his retreat within the recesses of this mountainous district, he might encamp wherever

[1] Postero die (ingens iter agminis, sed metus urgebat) in montem Lingon perrexit: ipsi montes Epiri sunt, interjecti Macedoniæ Thessaliæque. Latus, quod vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat: septentrio a Macedoniâ objicitur. Vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt: juga summa campos patentes, aquasque perennes habent. — Liv. l. 32, c. 13.

[2] Λιγγιάδες.

he found it convenient; but even if he advanced no farther than the valleys eastward of Sudhená and Dovrá, his horizontal distance was more than equal to that of the preceding day, besides which there was a considerable increase of elevation, so that the "ingens iter agminis" of Livy seems perfectly justified.

Oct. 21.—A violent fall of rain last night, which continues all this day, with a strong gale from the south, detains me in the cottage of the papás of Ravéni, in a wretched chamber pervious to the weather on all sides.

Oct. 22.—At 7.15 we descend into a small cultivated plain to the south of Ravéni, from whence the road winds through low barren hills till 8, when it enters a plain which is included between the last falls of the mountains of Zagóri and a steep ridge on the western side. This plain, which contains the sources of the Kalamá and a small lake, is nearly as broad as long, and is ten or twelve miles in circumference. We skirt it at the foot of the hills which border it on the east, and at 8.20 arrive at the khan of Kalbáki, lately built by the Vezír on the edge of the plain. We then enter a narrow vale, in few places cultivated, between two ranges of low barren hills. Those on the right increase in height to the westward, and upon one of the highest points of them is situated a village called Zagoriá. We continue to pursue the tedious course of this uninteresting vale till 10.40, when we find ourselves at the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, above the northern end of the Lake of Lapsísta, where the village of Petjalí[1] is half a mile on the

[1] Πετζιαλή.

right, not far from the bank. The abundance of rain has maintained the lake at its highest all this year. A further descent of half an hour brings us, at 11.50, to the Khan of Lykóstomo, situated at the eastern end of a causeway, or long bridge, here crossing the narrowest part of the marsh, which unites the Lake of Ioánnina with that of Lapsísta. The causeway of Lykóstomo is the only direct communication between Zagóri and the plain of Ioánnina. Having remained at the khan till 1.40, we cross the causeway and the plain, and arrive at the entrance of the city at 3.3. Here I am lodged for a few days at the house of the Bishop of Arta, and then remove to that of S. B., a young man who inherited from his father 800 purses, all which, with the assistance of the Vezír, he has long since got rid of. He was a frequenter, like other young men of fashion, of the house of the celebrated Frosýni [1]. But he was not always so refined in his female society, and the Vezír, who is very rigorous on these subjects when it suits his purpose, and who had an eye to a share of Kyr S.'s fortune, set the police to watch and arrest him on the spot, and by threatening a public example, extracted 400 purses from him.

As to the famous πνίξιμον, that atrocious act which seems first to have shown Alý's subjects to what an extent his pitiless disposition could carry him in a single act of cruelty, I have received the following particulars from Kyr N. G. of Kalarýtes, whose wife was one of the sufferers. The Vezír

[1] Εὐφροσύνη.

invited himself to supper at the Kalarytiote's house, an expensive favour, which he is wont to confer occasionally on his confidential servants, of whom Kyr G. is one. Here he collected his intended victims, either by sending the bolu-báshi of the police for them, or proceeding himself on horseback to their respective residences. From the house of G. he went on foot to that of Frosýni, which he entered at the back by climbing over a part of the neighbouring house. He thus appeared suddenly before Frosýni, and without saying a word, made a motion to the bolu-báshi, signifying that she was to be conveyed with the others to prison. The relations of G.'s wife say that her husband was privy to the Vezír's intentions, and that when she was preparing to appear before the Pashá, in obedience to his summons, her husband, in order to save her trinkets and best clothes, told her that the Pashá wished to make her some present, and might be indisposed from doing so if she made too great a display of dress. The Kalarytiote himself, however, denies all knowledge of his master's intentions, which seems much more probable; and although his suspicions could hardly have been short of conviction, when the women were collected at his house, it would have been in vain for him then to attempt any interference. He asserts, that when the design became manifest, he made every effort to move the Vezír's compassion for his own wife, without effect. The women were all conveyed to the church of St. Nicolas at the northern extremity of the lake: so much time however had been consumed in assembling them,

that the morning returned before boats could be obtained from the *island*, the fishermen, moreover, refusing to assist without a written order; so that as Turkish custom requires darkness to be added to the other horrors of this mode of punishment, it was not until the following midnight, in the midst of one of those furious thunder-storms so common in Ioánnina, that the women were collected in five or six boats, and not being inclosed in sacks according to the practice of Constantinople, the Albanians were under the necessity of using force when they clung to the sides of the monóxyla.

During the intervening day, such was the state of the Vezír's mind and appearance, that no one dared to approach him; and it unfortunately happened that Bishop Ignatius, who would certainly have made some attempt to save the wretched victims, arrived only at Ioánnina a day or two after the event. The Pashá has since observed to more than one person, with a pointed allusion to this event, that he has no good counsellors; thus showing the probability that he would at least have spared some of the women for a good ransom. Frosýni[1] was niece of the bishop of Grevená, and was about 28 years of age; she is said to have been witty and accomplished, and seems to have revived exactly the ancient Greek character of an ἑταῖρα. The Ioannites speak with pride and affection of her, and seem to consider the existence of such a person at Ioánnina as proving their superiority to the rest of Greece in civilization, not less than a bookshop in the Bazár and their two colleges for education. Frosýni's

coterie, however, was better suited to France or Italy than to Greece in its present state, and was attended with extreme danger in a Turkish town, where the example of a person of good family had a pernicious effect among the Greek women, while it was viewed with abhorrence or envy by the Turkish. The jealous complaints of Mukhtár's wife to her father-in-law were chiefly directed against Frosýni: those of her sister, the wife of Velý, against two or three married women; and these accusations were undoubtedly the immediate cause of the horrible result[1]. The whole number who suffered were 17, of whom five or six only were of the higher class. The bodies were not all collected for several days, during which time the Satrap remained inclosed in his harém to avoid witnessing the indignation of the Greeks of Ioánnina, which for a moment got the better of their prudence, and showed itself by their attending the funerals in great numbers, particularly that of Frosýni.

Nov. 1.—A sharp frost in the morning: the lake is now peopled with astonishing numbers of the duck tribe, which often furnish good sport to the Ioannites. The Vezír and his sons often have a battue, which lasts the greater part of the day. As the Pashá permits any body to accompany

[1] Drowning seems to have been not an uncommon punishment for females among the ancient Greeks. It is related both of Periander, king of Corinth, and of Cleomenes, tyrant of Methymna, that they ordered several women of irregular conduct to be sewn up in sacks and thrown into the sea.—Theopomp. et Hermip. ap. Athen. l. 10, c. 12.

him, every boat in Ioánnina is in requisition on such occasions. They proceed in a long line through the narrow channels which pervade the papýria, and thus surround the cover where the birds are collected, when a sudden shout being given, they rise and are brought down by scores. They are generally very fat at this time of the year, but in general coarse and ill-flavoured.

Alý's intentions are at present directed towards Margaríti and Paramythía, and his Albanians have lately taken Koranópulo in Fanári, a village belonging to Hassan Tjapári, of Margaríti. His Highness declares his intention of building a new fortress and palace at Litharítza, an important point to the security of Ióannina, being a commanding height not far from the lake, at a distance of 600 yards from the south-eastern tower of the citadel. It commands every approach to the town from the southward, and enfilades the whole length of it in a northern direction, and will thus give the Vezír a command over his capital which can never be obtained from the castle, while the latter is an excellent citadel, and would furnish a secure retreat if the post of Litharítza were lost.

The Pashá's avaricious disposition carries him to such a length, that he never allows any worn-out piece of furniture, or arms or utensils to be thrown away, but lays them in places well known to him, and would discover the loss of the smallest article. In the dirty passages and antichambers leading to some of the grandest apartments of his palace, and which have cost some thousands to fit

up, the worn out stock of a pistol, or a rusty sword, or a scabbard, or some ragged articles of dress, may be seen hanging up, which his numerous domestics never venture to remove, well knowing that it would be remarked by him. This mixture of magnificence and meanness is very striking in every part of the palace. His great apartment covered with a Gobelin carpet, surrounded with the most costly sofas, musical clocks, and mirrors, is defended by cross iron bars, rougher than would be considered tolerable in the streets of London. They are intended to prevent his servants from passing through the windows when the chamber is locked.

Having had occasion when I was at Corfú to transmit a small sum of money to the Vezír, I sent it purposely through the hands of Mehmét, the Roman, in the hope that when he presented it, his highness would make him a present of it. In a fit of generosity he did so; but not long afterwards changed his mind, and sent his treasurer for it. One year he gave the superintendence of the collection of his revenues and rents to the bishop of Arta, with the injunction that it should be done καλὰ, which word the bishop well knew did not convey any intention of forbearance. The new system failed not in producing a greater amount than usual, but numerous complaints having followed, the Vezír informed the complainants that they might apply to the bishop for a remission in their next contributions, amounting altogether to 80 purses. For these 80 purses, however, he never allowed the bishop any

credit in the account between them, thus pocketing the increase, and leaving the bishop to settle it as he best might with the villages. Though the Greek prelates suffer in this manner occasionally, he is too well aware of their importance in the government of the Christian population, and as instruments of extortion, to treat them with extreme harshness. Indeed, he generally favours the Dhespótes, as he qualifies them, much more than the Turkish Beys, and seldom denies the bishops a little military assistance in obtaining their personal dues. Not long ago, however, he almost frightened to death the Bishop of Grevená, a mild and timid man, by a proceeding which was meant to increase the bishop's authority. Being about to visit Grevená, he ordered the bishop to prepare the episcopal palace for his reception, but instead of proceeding there went to another konák, pretending to believe that the bishop had so ordered it. Having sent for the unfortunate Ἅγιος Γρεβενῶν, or Holy of Grevená, he assumed an air of extreme anger, ordered the bishop to prison, and issued a proclamation that all persons having complaints against him should make a statement of them. Nobody having appeared, the Vezír sent for him the next day, and congratulated him on the proof that he had no enemies, and that he governed his flock with kindness and justice.

Nov. 11.—Visiting the Pashá this afternoon, previously to my departure, I find him sitting in his state apartment, in close conference with a Bektashlí Sheikh, whose sect he affects to favour. During our conference he employs himself in select-

ing some large pearls for a chaplet of beads, which two Greek jewellers have brought. I was afterwards informed that he purchased twenty-four of these pearls for fifty purses: though of course uncommonly large, they are not round or regular. He added some which he before possessed, and two emeralds of the same size, to make up thirty-three, one of the legitimate numbers of a chaplet. This he afterwards wore, for the first time, at a supper, to which he invited himself, at the house of Mehmét the Roman, and who was thus put to an expence of two or three hundred piastres.

CHAPTER IX.

EPIRUS, THESSALIA.

Departure from Ioánnina—Dhrysko—River Arta—Tria Khánia—Métzovo—Passage of the Zygós—Sources of the Salamvría—Khan Malakássi—Khan Kotovázdhi—River of Klínovo—Metéora—Kalabáka or Staghús, *Æginium*—Illustrations of ancient history—Mount Kótziaka—Trikkala, river *Lethæus*, *Tricca*—Khassiá—Kardhíki—Kolokotó—Tzighióti—Grísano—Zarko—River Salamvría, *Peneius*—Alífaka—Lárissa—*Crannonia*—River Fersalíti, or *Enipeus*—Férsala, *Pharsalus*—Vrysiá—Ghynekókastro, *Proerna*—Dhomokó, *Thaumaci*—Plain of Tauklí—*Xynia*, lake *Xynias*—*Maliac forest*—Furka Dervéni—Arrival at Zitúni.

Nov. 12.—After six or seven clear calm days, with a light north-east wind, the appearance of the weather alters this morning, just as I am about to leave Ioánnina for Lárissa and Athens, and threatens a difficult passage over the *Pindus*.

The water of the lake, which in the months of July and August reached to the paved road at the foot of the rocks of Kastrítza, is now near a mile distant from thence; and all that extremity of the lake is dry, with the exception of a few marshy spots. The reeds are either cut down or withered, and some large spaces, which in the summer were covered with water, have since that time produced a crop of coarse grass, which has lately been mown

with the scythe. Through this desiccated termination of the lake, a small stream flows to the extremity, and there enters some cavities at the foot of the rocks along which the road passes. These openings are called the khonéftres [1], or katavóthra, the latter being the common Greek word for such channels, and the former the term more peculiar to Ioánnina. The place, according to Meletius, is named Voiníkovo. In three hours we arrive at the khan of Dhrysko. Although spacious and recently built, it is already out of repair, and in the best room half the ceiling is wanting, and a shutter to one of the windows. In an instant, however, an immense pile of fuel from the brushwood which covers the hill is brought in, and a blazing fire soon appears upon the hearth. The shop attached to the khan supplies rakí, eggs, and new wine.

Nov. 13.—Setting out from Dhrysko at 8.30 we arrive, in a little more than three hours, at the Triakhánia, travelling, as in September last, chiefly along the bed of the river, which in winter is sometimes entirely filled: in that case, if the bridges were broken down, the road would be quite impracticable; it seldom happens, however, even in winter, for many days together, that it is necessary to follow the Akres all the way. Having crossed the river beyond Triakhánia, we follow the left bank to the point of junction of the branches from Métzovo and the mountain of Khalíki; and fording the latter, proceed, for upwards of half an hour, along a road overhanging the ravine of the

[1] Χωνεύτραις—digesters.

Métzovo branch, when at the end of two hours and five minutes from Triakhánia, we arrive at Anílio, where I am lodged in a neat Vlakhiote cottage, which has a plastered floor and walls, and an air of comfort unknown in the houses of the Greek peasants. The town is half buried in snow, and long icicles hang from the eaves of the houses. We lost a short time towards the end of our journey by meeting a great number of asses and mules coming from Thessaly, laden chiefly with flour. These caravans were moving heaps of snow, and had passed the Zygós, or ridge of Métzovo, with difficulty, on account of the violence of the wind. Those who attempted it latest were obliged to leave their φορτώματα, or burthens, on the top of the mountain. The Papa-Proestós of Anílio informs me that they have had similar weather, with little variation, these fifteen days, during a great part of which it was clear and calm at Ioánnina.

Nov. 14.—Although much snow has fallen in the night, and the weather still continues squally, the Métzovites report the mountain passable; we set out therefore at 8.30, and follow the left side of the glen of Métzovo for a quarter of an hour, and afterwards the bed of a torrent which joins that from the plain of Imperatoria a mile above the town. We soon enter the clouds, and lose sight of all objects at more than a few yards' distance; and quitting the torrent, begin to mount the Zygós by a zigzag road. In ascending, the snow becomes deeper, lying in drifted heaps, and forming hillocks, under which the shrubs are buried. Box and pine are the most common trees, and become

more plentiful as we ascend. The east wind comes over the ridge in squalls with a piercing keenness. Where the snow has been blown away, and the rocky surface left bare, the narrow slippery path on the side of the steep slope is not a little hazardous. The road on the lee side of the mountain is generally in this state in winter, because the wind, coming over the ridge in squalls, drives away the snow from the rocky parts, and hence the lee side is considered the more difficult, unless the quantity of snow on the weather side be such as to render it quite impassable. I hired three conductors from Métzovo, whose business it is to trace the road wherever it is entirely covered, to support the horses where it is bare and slippery, and if the horse cannot be saved from falling over the side of the hill, to drag off the rider. As it is impossible to save baggage and merchandize with the same celerity, the loads are often left on the top of the mountain till the weather improves, but this seldom happens when they come from the westward, because the Métzovites are well acquainted with the disposition of their mountain, and will not venture without a certainty of passing. We are accompanied by the mules sent to resume their loads, which we find just at the foot of the highest ridge on the western side. Here we dismount, in order to make the last ascent of about fifty paces on foot. This little interval, however, is so steep and slippery that, not having yet recovered from the effects of my Apollonian fever, I should have been some time in reaching the summit, had not two of my guides, each taking an arm, hauled me up, and

then running down the steep on the opposite side, saved me the trouble of making a step. The road on the sharp summit passes between two rocks, on one of which is a kónisma[1] of St. Nicolas, whom they invoke as they pass, and hence the place is called Aio Níkóla.

The proper Zygós terminates at no great distance to our right, beyond which rises the summit called Dhokími, connected by means of the heights behind Anílio with the summit above Khalíki. Beyond St. Nicolas we immediately enter a forest of beeches loaded with snow, which lies upon the ground four or five feet deep, or more than double its average depth on the other side of the ridge. This is said to be generally the case, whether the wind be from Thessaly or Epirus, for though the snow generally falls in much greater quantity in the latter case, sometimes covering the ground to the depth of several feet in the course of a night, it seldom remains long unmelted on that side. The easterly winds, on the contrary, being frosty, the snow is more permanent, falling commonly in a fine powder; whereas from the southward or westward it descends in large flakes. The two winds most noted at Métzovo for foul weather are called Patrinós and Avlonítis[2], names indicating the directions of south and north-west, but comprehending under the one or the other denomination many of the intermediate points. It is remarkable

[1] εἰκόνισμα, a little pillar of stone, in which there is a niche to hold a small picture of the saint.

[2] Πατρινὸς, Αὐλωνίτης.

that the snow lies at present upon the ground as far down the valley to the westward as Triakhánia, while upon the highest points to the northward, and on Tzikuréla, and the neighbouring heights in the opposite direction, which are many hundred feet higher than the Zygós, there is only a slight sprinkling on the summits. Mounts Tzumérka and Kakardhísta are more deeply covered. This peculiarity of the Zygós is probably caused by its position between much higher mountains to the north and south, at the same time that it is the ridge of separation between two long narrow valleys which lie in a transverse direction to the chain. The wind is thus drawn up the one or the other of the two valleys, and is confined to those two opposite directions, while the Zygós in either case intercepts the vapours.

The forests which cover this part of the *Pindus* consist chiefly of firs[1] and beeches[2]. On the Zygós, beeches are only found near the summit, lower down are firs, and still lower, small oaks. In the latter end of February and beginning of March, at which time the snow generally collects on the ridge in the greatest quantity, the beeches, although lofty trees, have their stems sometimes buried, and the ridge is impassable for many days, except to foot passengers: nor would it be practicable at all during strong winds, but for the shelter afforded by the trees. Hence they are carefully preserved. The firs on the western side, on the contrary, are used for fuel, and are diminishing.

[1] ἐλάτια. [2] ὀξυαίς.

The Zygós of Métzovo is geographically the most remarkable mountain in Greece. Situated in the heart of *Pindus* as to its breadth, and centrally also in the longitudinal chain which pervades the continent from north to south, it gives rise to five principal rivers, in fact to all the great streams of Northern Greece except the *Spercheius:* north-eastward to the *Haliacmon*, south-eastward to the *Peneius*, southward to the *Achelous*, south-westward to the *Arachthus*, and north-westward to the *Aous.*

Remounting our horses a few hundred yards below St. Nicholas, we proceed in half an hour to a fountain, where our guides leave us, and where the beech wood ends. The zigzag road continues with a diminishing depth of snow for another hour, when we arrive, at 11.30, upon a part of the slope of the mountain, where in the bottom of a deep ravine to the right, flows the Salamvría, or Salambría[1], composed chiefly of the streams collected from the eastern face of Mount Dhokími. At 12 this river is joined by a branch from the northward, which rises at the γαλακτίτης λίθος, or milkstone, a rock so called because there is a calcareous deposit at the fountain which has the reputation at Métzovo and other neighbouring villages of having the effect, when pounded and mixed with water, of promoting a woman's milk. Although this is not so distant a source as that of the southern branch, it was very probably the reputed origin of the *Peneius*, from being the most remarkable of its fountains. The

[1] Σαλαμβρίας, Σαλαμπρίας.

road from Métzovo, by the milk-stone, passes not far from the site of Imperatoria, and descends to the Salamvría by the monastery of Libókhovo[1]. At the junction of the two branches stands a khan named that of Malakásh[2], from a village situated half an hour above it on the mountain to the left. Here we remain until 2 P.M., then immediately crossing the northern river by a bridge, continue for a short time along the left bank of the united stream, which is not large, but very winding, with a general course of S.S.E.

The mountains on either side have a more gradual slope than those which border the river Arta below Métzovo, and the passage of this valley would be easier to an army than that of the *Arachthus*. The woody summits rising above the akres or extreme points, clothed with oak, which overhang the river, present, as they fold over one another, a continuation of beautiful scenery. As we advance, the snow, which at Khan Malakássi was lying on the ground, retires to a higher limit on the hills. We follow generally the gravelly bed of the river, but sometimes cross the akres for a considerable distance, especially towards the end of the day's journey, which terminates at 4.15, on the right bank, at the Khan of Kotovázdhi[3], so called as having been built by the inhabitants of a village of that name in the neighbouring mountain, who are

[1] Λιμπώχοβος.

[2] Μαλακάσσι. One of the four sub-districts into which the rural district of Ioánnina is divided bears the same name, but is separated from the territory of this village by the whole of Métzovo.

[3] Κοτοβάζδι.

bound to keep the building in repair, and to see that it is furnished with provisions and a khanjí to sell them.

Alý Pashá has caused khans to be established in the same manner, at intervals of about an hour along the whole route from Ioánnina to Tríkkala, but only those of Dhrysko, Tria Khánia, Malakássi, and Kotovázdhi, have chambers for travellers of the higher classes. From Kotovázdhi there is a route of six hours to Kalarýtes, leaving Khalíki at no great distance to the right. The river of Kotovázdhi receives streams from Vendísta and Kastaniá[1], two large villages situated among woods of chestnut. Between the khans of Malakássi and Kotovázdhi a tributary joins the Salamvría from the northward, having its origin in the ridges towards Miliés, from the opposite face of which the waters flow to the Venetikó of Grevená. To the right of our road were the villages of Lábovo, Kókkino-lithári, and Gletjádhes[2]: to the left that of Strúniza[3], nearly opposite to Lábovo. All these places stand at the head of sloping vineyards and corn-fields.

Nov. 15.—At 8 we continue to follow the bed of the river from the Khan of Kotovázdhi, but sometimes passing through narrow meadows on its bank, or among plane trees which began to border the stream a little above the khan. The vale widens gradually. At 8.30 we cross a branch of the river flowing from the mountains on the right, and at

[1] Βενδίστα or Βεντίστα, Καστανιά.

[2] Λάμποβος, Κόκκινο-λιθάρι, Γλετζάδες.

[3] Στρούνιζα.

9.20 a larger from Klínovo. Here the main valley is about a mile in breadth. The opening of the river of Klínovo admits a view of a great branch of *Pindus* which follows a direction nearly parallel to the course of the *Peneius*. This mountain is known by the name of Aspropotamítiko, as being contained in the district of Aspropótamo, and as falling on the opposite side to the river so called: it is now deeply covered with snow. At 9.40, being near the foot of the right-hand hills, we have, at the distance of half a mile on the left, the junction of the Salamvría, with a stream of almost equal magnitude flowing from the northward, and from the Trikkaline sub-district of Krátzova. Soon afterwards we cross a tributary from the right. From the left bank of the Krátzova branch rises a range of hills of a secondary altitude, which terminate towards the valley of the *Peneius*, in the perpendicular rocks named the Metéora[1], upon which are built the monasteries called *τά μοναστήρια τοῦ* Πίνδου. At 10.10, after having turned a root of the mountain to the right where the valley changes its direction to the south, a part of the plain of Tríkkala becomes visible: the plane trees still continue. At 10.20, the principal monastery or Metéora, individually so called, is on a high rock to the left, distant two or three miles, and another midway on a point half as high as the former. After having passed over a root of the mountain, we cross to the left bank of the river and arrive in sight of the Castle of Tríkkala, then

[1] *τὰ Μετέωρα.*

turning to the left of the direct road leading to that place, arrive in ten minutes more, at 11 A.M., at Kalabáka, where I am lodged in the house of a Kalarytiote silversmith.

Kalabáka, by the Greeks called Stagús, in the nominative Staghí [1], is situated on the south-eastern side, and immediately at the foot of a perpendicular precipice, which is five or six hundred feet high, and of an uniform surface from top to bottom, but is divided into two parts by a deep vertical fissure, affording a narrow passage from the town to the village of Kastráki, and the monasteries of the Metéora. The cleft widens towards the top, and gives the rock of Kalabáka a bicipital appearance at a distance. There is a third precipitous summit to the eastward, called the mountain of 'Aio Stéfano, from a convent of Saint Stephen which stands on the summit. The town is spread over the upper part of a long slope covered with mulberry trees, which declines very gently to the river Salamvría, and commands a fine view of the plain of Tríkkala, beyond which appear the heights of 'Agrafa, and behind them the summits of Mount *Œta*, entirely covered with snow. To the left of the plain rise the heights behind Tríkkala, over which another snowy mountain is seen, probably *Othrys*. At 2 miles below Kalabáka, the Salamvría, after having encircled the slope which descends from the town, makes a sudden turn to the south, towards the foot of the mountain of Kótjaka, which borders the plain to the westward,

[1] Σταγοὶ, στοὺς Σταγούς.

and after a course of six or eight miles in that direction, sweeps again in a graceful curve towards Tríkkala. A wide gravelly uncultivable space on either side the river, caused by its inundations, is characteristic of the ποταμόκλυστος Θετταλία [1], but it is common to the rivers in general of the plains of Greece, and may be said to be injurious both to agriculture and to picturesque effect. Although Kalabáka belongs to the Liva or government of Tríkkala, its public revenue is at present a separate mukatá in the hands of Velý Pashá, whose agent is the only Turk residing in the place. The Pashá receives 30 purses a year; the other contributions, including the local expences of the district, such as konáks, support of Albanian troops, &c. amount to 20 more. This is paid almost entirely by about 120 houses, the rest, to the number of 30 or 40, being wretched cottages. The house of Kyr Ianáki, the Hodjá-bashí, is large, and there are some others which indicate former opulence, but the place has been much injured of late by robbers, or by the Albanians sent in pursuit of them. The mulberry plantations still produce 12 or 15 fortómata of silk per annum, each fórtoma being 100 okes. The territory of Tríkkala produces about 60 fortómata. Stagi was formerly a metropolitan see, but is now only a poor bishopric of the province of Lárissa. The cathedral, which is not large, was built about the year 1300 by the Emperor Andronicus Palæologus, as appears by an inscription on one of the

[1] Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς Θετταλίας εὐδαιμονεστάτη χώρα, πλὴν ὅση ποταμόκλυστός ἐστιν.—Strabo, p. 430.

walls of the church. It has a large pulpit of stone in the centre, and is supported by columns of a coarse white marble. Below the altar is a small column of verd-antique. All these columns are held to be *θαυματούργαις*, and distil water on the feast of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. Adjoining to the church is the humble palace of the bishop *τῶν Σταγῶν*, who is now at Constantinople.

That Stagús stands on the site of an ancient city, appears from many indications. On the slope below the town are some massy foundations of Hellenic walls, and ancient sepulchres are found occasionally in the vineyards in the same direction. In the town several wrought blocks are observable in the walls of the churches and private houses. There is an inscribed marble in the outer wall of the episcopal church, and two others at a fountain at the church of St. Prodromus. The first of these monuments (No. 7) records the liberation of some slaves, and contains, together with their names, those of the purveyor[1], and some other officer, under whom the manumission took place. But one of the inscriptions at the fountain (No. 6) is of more importance, and comes most opportunely in aid of the ancient authors, to resolve many historic and geographic uncertainties. It is cut in large but much-worn letters on a plain squared stone, and attests that the city of the Æginienses had honoured the emperors Severus and Antoninus (Caracalla). Stagús therefore

[1] *ταμίας.*

stands on the site of Æginium, a fact in perfect conformity with Strabo, from whom we learn that Æginium was in the country of the Tymphæi, and that it confined on Tricca [1], for Mount Tymphe is sufficiently identified with the summits near Métzovo, by its having contained the sources of the *Arachthus* [2]; and Stagús lies exactly between the Zygós of Métzovo and Tríkkala. The singular situation of the place, fortified on two sides by perpendicular precipices, accords also with the mention of Æginium by Livy, who relates, that when the consul Quinctius entered Thessaly after the battle at the Aoi Stena, he first took Phaloria, and then advanced against Æginium, but that finding it next to impregnable, he was deterred from even attempting to besiege it, and turned towards Gomphi [3].

The importance of Æginium is shown on other occasions in ancient history. Notwithstanding its strength, it was taken by the Athamanes, when they were in alliance with Antiochus against the Romans, but was soon afterwards recovered by the united forces of Bæbius and Philip [4]. It was given up to plunder by L. Æmilius Paullus for having refused to open its gates after the battle of Pydna [5]. But perhaps the most interesting illustration which the inscription of Kalabáka affords,

[1] Αἰγίνιον δὲ Τυμφαίων, ὄμορον Λιθικίᾳ καὶ Τρίκκῃ.—Strabo, p. 327.

[2] ὁ Ἄραχθος ποταμὸς, ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Τύμφης ὄρους καὶ τῆς παρωραίας.—Strabo, p. 325.

[3] Liv. l. 32, c. 15.

[4] Id. l. 36, c. 13.

[5] Id. l. 44, c. 46; l. 45, c. 27.

is that of the march of Julius Cæsar, in his way from Illyria to Pharsalia. Æginium, which he describes as *objectum oppositumque Thessaliæ*, was the place where he was met by the forces under Domitius, coming from Heraclia of Lyncestis [1]. It was from Apollonia that Cæsar had begun his march into Thessaly; his route therefore probably followed the *Aous* and its branch, the modern Dryno, traversing from thence the plain of Ioánnina, and crossing the *Pindus* by the pass of Métzovo, while Domitius, moving from Heraclia, which was near the modern Bitólia, returned to the vale of the Vistrítza, or *Haliacmon*, where he had been opposed to Scipio previously to his movement upon Heraclia, and following that valley to Grevená, from thence crossed the heights which separate it from the *Upper Thessalian* plain, in which Kalabáka and Tríkkala are situated. Scipio about the same time marched from the Haliacmon to Larissa, probably by the modern Sérvia and Elassóna, in order to effect a junction with Pompey, who from Dyrrhachium had crossed Mount Candavia to Lyncestis, from whence, we may suppose his route to have been through Perrhæbia and the Larissæa.

It is proper to observe, that besides Cæsar's error as to Heraclia, to which I have before adverted [2], the text is manifestly wrong in describing his march as being through Epirus and Acarnania; for the latter province lay very wide of his route to the

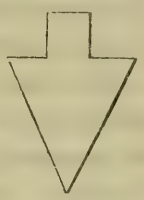
[1] Cæsar de B. C. l. 3, c. 79.

[2] Naming it Heraclia Sintica instead of Heraclia Lyncestis. See p. 315 of this volume.

right. The latter name ought evidently, therefore, to be Athamania; for though in strictness Cæsar's line of march only passed along the northern borders of Athamania, it is easy to conceive that the importance which the latter district had assumed about the time of the earlier wars of the Romans in this country, may have caused the name to be applied, especially among the Romans themselves, to a larger portion of the mountains adjacent to the south-eastern part of Thessaly, than it had originally included. As the inscription of Stagús gives to the emperors the titles Parthici, Arabici, Adiabenici, its date was subsequent to A.D. 201, the year of the expedition of Severus into the East.

Nov. 16.—This morning at 8.30, descending through the mulberry plantations, we rejoin, in less than twenty minutes, the direct road from Ioánnina to Tríkkala. On looking back toward Kalabáka, the rock of Aio Stéfano appears higher than the double summit immediately behind the town. To our left, as we proceed, low hills skirt the plain, and thus continue all the way to Tríkkala, beyond which they trend more easterly; and the mountains on the opposite side having also a direction more southerly than before, the plain becomes suddenly much wider. Our road is seldom more than half a mile distant from the hills on the left. In a little κόλπος, or retired plain, at about a quarter of the distance to Tríkkala, stands Kovéltzi, and in another, at half way, Voivóda, both villages of the district of Tríkkala. The land is a light and light-coloured mould, now

under the plough, after having produced a crop of kalambókki. Cars are used like those of the plain of Grevená, but the trucks, or solid wheels upon which they turn, are higher. These trucks are thicker in the centre than at the edge, which is shod with iron: the car is drawn by two oxen, and moves, without creaking and bending, from one side to another, like those of Berát and the Mizakía. The plough-share is a flat triangular piece of iron, like the head of a spear. As we approach Tríkkala, many large elms and planes are observable towards the river, which is two or three miles to the right. We crossed a torrent issuing from the mountains at Voidóva; and another half an hour short of Tríkkala, which passes through the town, and contains only pools of water in the deepest parts, with little or no current, though in the rainy season it would seem to be of a different character, as the road crosses it by a large stone bridge. It is probably the ancient Lethæus [1].



At the entrance of the town stands a new serái of Alý Pashá. Here we overtake a caravan of horses, mules, and asses, in number about two hundred, laden with the women, children, and household gear of Grámista on their road to Armyró. Grámista, like several other towns on the ridge of Pindus, consists chiefly of ἀγωγιάταις and βοσκοὶ, or in the Turko-Greek dialect of Thessaly,

[1] Strabo, p. 647.

κερατζίδες and τζουμπάνιδες; that is to say, carriers and shepherds, very few of whom remain in the mountain in the winter. The carriers, from the nature of their employment, are frequently absent from home at all times of the year, the shepherds proceed constantly in the winter to their pastures in the plains: so that in that season the villages in the mountains are almost deserted. Each village has its particular place of resort, where the Mukátesi levies a capitation upon the cattle for the right of pasture.

The castle of Tríkkala occupies a hill projecting from the last falls of the mountain of Khassiá [1], and is commanded by one of those heights at no great distance. It is a structure apparently of the middle ages, which has been frequently repaired. It is of considerable extent, and has a small keep at the summit which commands a noble view of the great plain of Upper Thessaly, from Stagús to Maskolúri, backed by the mountains of Kótjaka and 'Agrafa. These two great ridges are separated only from each other by a klisúra, or pass, called [2] the Gates of Tríkkala, where are two villages named Portes, standing in the pass. To the left of this remarkable feature of the view, the mountains of 'Agrafa occupy near ninety degrees of the horizon. A low projection of them immediately opposite to Tríkkala, and nearly due south of it, is crowned with a village and ruined castle named Fanári.

[1] Χασσιὰ, vulgarly pronounced Khashá.

[2] αἱ πόρται τῶν Τρικκάλων.

The town of Tríkkala covers the slope and plain on the southern and eastern sides of the castle, and is said to contain between twelve and fifteen hundred families, a great part of whom live in miserable cottages. The houses are all built of sun-baked bricks, and have a poor appearance compared with those of Ioánnina, where in all the larger the lower half of the wall is of stone. Though Tríkkala has rapidly declined since it has been governed by Alý Pashá, it is still one of the largest towns in Greece, has seven or eight mosques, more than as many churches, two synagogues, a well furnished bazár, and a market on Sundays, much frequented from the surrounding country.

A large proportion of the houses, although built by and belonging to Turks, are hired and inhabited by Greeks; so that the Christian population exceeds the Turkish. This has arisen from the conduct of Alý Pashá towards the Turks, whose lands he has obtained from some by purchase at a cheap rate, because their extravagance and debts had reduced them to that necessity, and from others by his accustomed modes of fraud or tyranny; others having been unable to bear their share of the expences caused by the wars of the Vezír, the visits of himself and his sons, the passage of Albanian troops, and those arbitrary demands which he makes at intervals, have either sold their property to live elsewhere, or have removed into some village and let their town-houses in apartments. The post is another heavy tax on such a thoroughfare as Tríkkala, and the Menziljí, or postmaster, is

one of the leading men in the place. He contracts to keep one hundred and fifty horses for two hundred purses a year. An old inhabitant tells me, that he remembers when it was done for six purses.

In one of his late visits to this place, Alý carried away with him a Trikkaline[1] Greek, whom he imagined rich, and put him in prison at Ioánnina, signifying to him that the price of his liberation was two hundred purses. After two years' confinement, the man escaped and went to Adrianople, whence he immediately wrote to his son at Tríkkala to join him. But the Vezír had been beforehand with him, and had already caused the son to occupy the father's place in the prison. After a long bargaining, fifty purses was agreed to by the Vezír as the lowest price of the son's liberty. The father had not so much; but after selling his house, two or three small farms, and some vineyards, in short, the whole property of the family, he collected thirty-six purses, which were paid to the Vezír, who, however, still kept his prisoner confined, until fully convinced that he had not the means of completing the fifty purses. The father, meantime, died at Adrianople, and the son is now in poverty at Tríkkala. Alý refused to accept the property in house and lands from the son in full of his demand, but obliged the young man to sell them himself; purchased them secretly, and then received back the purchase-money from his victim.

[1] Τρικκαλινός.

The bishop of Tríkkala, a man of some curiosity and information, supposes Stagús to be the site of the Ithome of Homer, judging so with great appearance of reason, from the poet's epithet κλωμακόεσσα; but Ithome still retained its name in the time of Strabo; and his description of the site will not agree with that of Stagús. The bishop was of course ignorant of the decisive inscription containing the words Πόλις Αἰγινιέων. He informs me, that there are some remains of a Hellenic town or fortress at Ardhám, a village two hours from Tríkkala to the north-west, in the Khassiá hills, where also are the sources of the lazy stream, which flows through Tríkkala. He is rather scandalized at my having passed without visiting the Metéora, which he qualifies as[1] royal and heaven-built works.

The only traces I can find of the ancient Tricca are some small remains of Hellenic masonry, forming part of the wall of the castle, and some squared blocks of stone of the same ages dispersed in different parts of the town. On the summit of the hill behind the castle stands part of the shaft of a column one foot eight inches in diameter, tapering like the Doric, but not fluted. It is fixed with the smaller end in the ground, and is not, therefore, in its original position. There is another similar column in an adjoining Turkish cemetery. They seem too small to have belonged to the Asclepium of Tricca; for Æsculapius having been an object

[1] ἔργα βασιλικὰ καὶ θεόκτιστα.

of peculiar veneration as a native deity, whose sons conducted the Triccæi to Troy: his temple was probably one of the chief ornaments of the city. Some remains of it may, perhaps, be enveloped in the buildings of the modern town, or buried under the accumulated ruins and rubbish of ages. Strabo describes it as the most ancient and illustrious of all the temples of Æsculapius[1], and as the constant resort of invalids, whose cures were there recorded as in his temples of Cos and Epidaurus[2].

Nov. 18.—At 10 A.M. we proceed from Tríkkala on the road to Lárissa, and at the eastern extremity of the town pass by the serái of Velý Pashá, which, although built only a very few years ago, is already in such a dilapidated state, that the window-shutters are dropping off their hinges into the street. The road is dry and even dusty; the hills of Khassiá are at no great distance on the left: to the right the plain extends for twelve or fifteen miles to the foot of the lower heights of 'Agrafa, behind which the central ridges which connect Pindus with Œta, exhibit their majestic summits covered deeply with snow. At 11.40 we halt to dine at the little village of Kurbalí: the men are all absent with their flocks, but we are received by the women without fear—one of the favourable traits of Alý's government. A quarter of an hour beyond Kurbalí, a hill, one mile and a half to the

[1] τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον. —Strabo, p. 437.

[2] Id. p. 374.

left, which is one of the extreme points of the mountains of Khassiá, and is connected with the heights behind Tríkkala, is surrounded by Hellenic walls of considerable extent. A church crowns the summit, and there is another in ruins at the foot of the hill. The place is called Kardhíki, and still gives title to one of the suffragan bishoprics of the province of Lárissa. In the interval between our road and the ruins is a small lake, which yields an abundance of fish.

An opening in the hills, not seen from Tríkkala, now discovers itself, through which the Salamvría flows, and the northern part of Mount *Pelium* makes its appearance. Our road, on turning towards the opening, approaches the hills on the left, and at 2 brings us to Kolokotó, a small village at the foot of a rocky insulated height not far from the hills, and about half an hour distant from the left bank of the *Pencius*. Immediately above the village are some remains of a Hellenic wall of rude and antique construction, which inclosed only the summit of the hill, together with a small space down the side. On the top of all is a modern tower in ruins. A little before Kolokotó our road touched the bank of the small stream which flows through Tríkkala: it is narrow, in most parts deep, and moves so slowly that the current is visible only in particular places. From Kolokotó we pass over a paved road, between the rocky height of the Paleókastro and a marsh on the right, which is fed by some springs issuing from under the rocks, and then cross a bay or recess of the plain between the hill of Kolokotó and those of the district

of Khassiá. At 3.10 Great and Little Tjigotó, or Tjighióti, or Tjaióti [1], are on the left; and to the northward of the latter Grísano, or Gritziáno[2], above which are a large church, and the ruined walls of a considerable town, apparently of the time of the Byzantine empire. To the right, at the same time, a round insulated hill, situated at about the same distance from the right bank of the Salamvría as Tzighióti is from the left, is rendered very conspicuous by the ruined walls of a large Hellenic city inclosing its summit and face.

We now come in sight of Zarko, situated, like Tzighióti, just within a projection of the heights which here form with other hills on the opposite side of the Salamvría a strait through which the river makes its way towards Lárissa. Having crossed the plain which extends to the left to Grísano and the hills of Khassiá, we arrive at 3.45 at Zarko, a town of 350 houses, built of a coarse granite from the adjacent hills, and which forms with Tjighióti an agalík of Mukhtár Pashá, who, besides the royal revenue of the two villages, receives an annual contribution as an exemption from the quartering of Albanian soldiers. For the accommodation of Tatárs, or persons travelling with imperial firmáhns, or with buyurdís of Alý or Mukhtár, the proestós has built two apartments adjoining his house, in one of which I take up my abode for the night. The proestós himself is now in prison at Ioánnina, whither he was carried by Alý when

[1] Τζιγυτὸς, Τζιγότι, Τζαϊότι. [2] Γρίσανος, Γριτζιάνος.

this primate had allowed the thieves to infest the country around Zarko, and had been on good terms with them. Zarko is chiefly noted for its cotton, which in good years produces 1000 fortómata of picked cotton, in a state fit for spinning. Each fórtoma is of twenty okes, and requires ninety-three okes of cotton from the field. Notwithstanding the fertility of these plains, cultivation is confined to the vicinity of the villages; the remainder supplies only winter pasture to sheep and cattle. Cotton is almost the only agricultural production of this place, and a bad cotton-year is starvation to Zarko. It is the ordinary residence of the Bishop of Kardhíki[1], who is now at Constantinople.

Nov. 19.—At 8.30 we begin to turn the point of the mountain of Zarko, and entering the bogház or strait already mentioned, through which the Salamvría flows, arrive in twenty minutes upon the bank of the river. The water being now low, and fordable in many places, we leave on the right the πόρος, where at other times the river is passed by a boat, and continue to follow the left bank. At 9.45 there is an interval of only a mile and a half between the hills on either side. Here a rocky advanced height on the right bank preserves the ruins of a Hellenic wall, which incloses the summit together with the slope towards the river, and contains within the ancient inclosure some remains of a smaller and more modern castle. Ten minutes farther, we ford the Salamvría, which flows with a slow current over a bed formed of a mixture of mould and fine sand, resembling the deposit of the Nile; the

[1] ὁ Καρδικίου.

depth in the deepest part is about four feet. But the dry autumn has made the river lower and less rapid than usual. In proceeding, the village of Alífaka is a mile on the right, not far from the foot of the height of the Paleókastro, from whence the hills on that side take a southerly direction. We now cross the plain to Lárissa, along the chord of a large arch formed by the Salamvría: the river however does not, throughout this distance, flow through the great plain, but first passes in a northerly direction through a valley included between a continuation of the Zarko range of hills, and a rocky ridge on the opposite bank, which forms the boundary of the plain of Lárissa to the westward. The river then emerges into the plain two hours to the westward of Lárissa, at a narrow opening between the northern extremity of the last-mentioned ridge and the southern end of a root of Mount *Olympus*, at the foot of which stands Túrnovo, two hours to the north-eastward of the opening. After passing the city, the river makes a remarkable turn to the northward before it arrives at Tempe. As soon as we had passed the opening of Alífaka, *Olympus*, *Ossa*, and *Pelium*, were displayed before us in all their magnificence. Ossa, with its woody slopes and its conical peak now deeply covered with snow, is one of the most beautiful mountains in Greece, and is well contrasted in character with the *broad* majesty of its neighbour. The lower sides of Olympus are well wooded, but the summit presents a wide extent of a bare light-coloured rock, which has very little snow on this side, though it is evidently the highest of the mountains

which surround Thessaly, and probably the highest in Greece.

From the ford of Alífaka, as far as Thumáï, we cross an uncultivated plain, with a soil resembling that of Egypt. Thumáï is on the rise of a low ridge which projects into the plain from the hills on the right. It consists of twenty or thirty families, with one Turkish house. Having halted here from 10.50 to 12.40, we cross a slight elevation, upon which are two or three other small tjiftlík villages, and descend again into the lowest level where the town of Lárissa[1], surmounted by more than twenty minarets, displays itself in front. Having traversed some gardens and vineyards, where the Salamvría flows at a small distance on the left, we enter the town at 2.45, and at 3 arrive at the serái or παλάτι of the metropolitan bishop, situated on the right bank of the *Peneius*. The palace, together with the adjoining cathedral, which is remarkable neither for its size or decorations, is inclosed by a wall, serving in some measure as a protection from Turkish insult. The upper story commands a noble view of the *Larissæ campus opimæ*, surrounded by *Ossa*, *Olympus*, and the *Perrhæbian* hills. Immediately above the metropolis, the river is crossed by a bridge of nine arches, 300 feet in length, faced with large squared stones, and having a road-

[1] The vulgar sound, in consequence of the position of the accent, is Lársa, but I have followed the modern orthography, which is the same as that of the Greek and Roman authors, though not that of coins and inscriptions, which is Λάρισα, or Λάρεισα.

way which, very unlike that of the narrow Albanian bridges, is wide enough for two carriages: the piers which terminate below in spurs, are pierced with Saracenic arches, curved and pointed.

Lárissa, though standing in the lowest part of the plain, and subject to excessive heat in summer, is not considered unhealthy, which is ascribed to its being unconfined by neighbouring mountains, and therefore always well ventilated; nevertheless, as in the generality of Greek towns, the autumn is seldom unattended with some degree of sickness and mortality. Although the plain immediately around is as dry and dusty in the summer months as Egypt in June, there is a marshy space to the north-east, caused by an inundation from the river in winter, where the water is never quite absorbed by the sun. The exhalations from thence, and the cold air which descends at night from the mountains, can hardly fail to produce some degree of disease, when after the termination of the Etesian breezes, that stagnation of the atmosphere prevails, which throughout Greece is prevalent from the beginning of September to the autumnal rains.

Since we have crossed the *Pindus* the weather has been perfectly serene, with a slight breeze from the north or north-east, and a sharp frost every night, yielding at an early hour to the power of the sun. While deluges were falling on the western side of that chain of mountains, Thessaly was suffering from drought, and the land is now so parched that the peasants cannot sow: it is admitted, however, that this is an unusual occurrence, and that in

general there is a sufficiency of moisture to make the light rich mould of Thessaly the most productive soil in Greece. A beautiful autumnal season generally follows the equinoctial rains, and continues with short intermissions to the end of the year, while in Epirus the same kind of weather occurs only at intervals, which after the beginning of November are both short and rare. The softness of the *Thessalian* climate, compared with that of *Epirus*, seems to have had its effect upon the character of the inhabitants, who are more cheerful and civil than those to the west of the *Pindus*, although living in the midst of poverty and the most grinding oppression.

Finding the Mitrópoli too much like a Turkish kiosk for the present season, and that the inmates, although bearing the sounding titles of *πρωτοσύνκελλος*, *οἰκονόμος*, and *ἱεροδιάκονος*, are too ignorant of every thing beyond their walls to afford much assistance to my inquiries, I procure, not without some difficulty, an apartment at the house of Kyr P., a medical practitioner. But I have reason to regret the change of lodging. Though a native of the place, my host knows very little about it, and thinks only of turning my occupation of his apartment to his own benefit. He proceeds in this manner: according to custom, the town undertakes to entertain the Vezír's musafír, and to supply him with a *taím* of meat, bread, wood, oil, and candles. The iatrós having taken this duty upon himself, soon begins to complain of the extreme difficulty of obtaining such commodities (in Lárissa of all places in Greece), and gives various ingenious reasons

for it, until at length, to avoid starvation, we are obliged to make our own purchases, and to entertain our entertainer and his whole family, who will make his own charges as soon as I am gone, when there will no longer be any possibility of a reference for the truth of them. Among the great number of petty inconveniences, which put the traveller's patience to trial in these countries, the unavoidable necessity of contributing occasionally to the misery of the lower classes, and of abetting the oppression and roguery of the higher, is that which is most mortifying. Last winter Kyr A., the hodjá-bashi of Ioánnina, after starving my friend M. and his suite for several days, charged the town at the rate of sixty piastres a day for their maintenance.

Mr. P. asserts, that there are 8000 Turkish families in Lárissa, instead of which probably they do not much exceed half that number. There are 300 or 400 Jewish houses, some of which are said to be among the richest of European Turkey, and about 400 Greek. Formerly, there were many Armenian families, but the greater part have had the wisdom to withdraw to places where the Christians can pursue their trades in greater security. The Armenians are the most prudent, crafty, and knowing, of all the Ghiáurs of the Levant, and are generally to be found in the best situations. They are industrious, always intent on gain, and far more profound knaves than the Greeks, whose flighty and inconstant tempers render it difficult for them to attend to any fixed plans, and who, amidst all their roguery and deceit, are capable of liberal and

disinterested actions, and have a curiosity and thirst for mental improvement, which is very rarely found among the Armenians of Turkey.

Nov. 20.—Lárissa, like the generality of the sites of Greece, which have been continually inhabited, preserves few remains of Hellenic times. The circumference is less than three miles, one fourth of which is contiguous to the river, on the opposite bank of which there is a grove of elms and white poplars. The remainder of the town is surrounded by hillocks, and at intervals by large spaces covered with Turkish tomb-stones. Among these cemeteries is found almost all that now remains above ground of the ancient Larissa, consisting of plain quadrangular stones, fragments of columns mostly fluted, and a great number of ancient cippi and sepulchral stelæ, all now serving for Turkish tomb-stones. In many instances a sepulchral stone with a Greek inscription has been placed at the head of a Turkish grave, without any Turkish inscription now apparent, so that many a Mehmét or Mustafá is reposing under the name of an Aristomachus or Cassander. It would be tedious to examine thoroughly all the burying grounds, but a person who had the patience, and the good fortune to do so without insult, for the Turks of Lárissa are very insolent, might possibly find something interesting among the inscriptions. Almost all those I saw were simple μνήματα. In the wall of the metropolitan church is a register of the names of certain freed men and women, who had each paid a stater to the city upon the occasion of their liberation. The marble is incomplete, and contains

only the names of seven persons who had been the slaves of one Marcus Afrius[1].

Lárissa is the most Ottoman town in Greece to the southward of Saloníki, having been the chief settlement of the Turks ever since the conquest of this part of the country previously to that of Constantinople. It then received the name of Yenishehér, which is still the official appellation. When Mahomet IV. was engaged in the siege of Candia, he made this place his residence, and here Dr. Brown, an English traveller, found him in the year 1669. The doctor relates, that the Sultán encamped during a part of that summer upon Mount Olympus, in order to avoid the heat and malária of Lárissa, but that the cold of the mountain was fatal to many of his followers. As an instance of the daring character of Mahomet, Brown states, that he killed one of his finest horses in an attempt to ride up the peak of Kíssavo[2], (the summit of *Ossa*.) Although Yenishehér, in civil and military arrangement, is subordinate to Tírhala (Tríkkala), which gives name to a liva or district of the eyalét or province of Rumilí, it has like many other places in Turkey, a jurisdiction separate from its district, the judicial and ecclesiastical affairs being in the hands of a Mollá, who is

[1] Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Παρὰ Λουκίου Τιτίου Ὀνησίμου τοῦ ταμίου τῆς πόλεως τὴν δευτέραν ἐξάμηνον, ἐνεγράφθη Ἱπποκρατίδῃ, ἀναγραφὴ ἀπελευθερωθέντων, δεδωκότων τοὺς στατήρας τῇ πόλει. Μάρκου Ἀφρίου. Τελέσφορος, Ἀγαθῇ. Κάσσανδρι, Ἡρακλέων, Χάριτα, Στράτων, Ἰούκουνδα. — V. Inscription No, 13.

[2] The doctor seems to have mistaken Kíssavo for a part of *Olympus;* it is possible, therefore, that Mahomet's camp may have been upon *Ossa*.

appointed like the pashás every year at the Kurbán Bairám, and whose maintenance being assigned upon a certain portion of the liva of Tríkkala, has given to that portion the name of the Mollalík. The civil power at Lárissa is divided among several rich Beys styled the Ayáns: the chief is Abdím, who possessing a large portion of the *Pelasgic* plain, has no reason to envy the precarious fortune of any vezír in the empire. There are several other Turks here with good landed properties, but in general their expences in arms, horses, furniture, and women, oblige them in a few years to cheat the Christian or Jewish trader, or to oppress the farmer so much by forced contributions of produce, that he is obliged to migrate elsewhere, and to leave the estate unproductive, for want of cultivation. In the tjiftlíks of the surrounding plains the peasant generally receives half the crop for his labour, he supplying the seed, but the farming-stock belonging to the landlord. In any other country this would leave enough for the farmer; but such is the conduct of the Turks, that the Greeks are continually migrating, chiefly to the districts of *Ionia*, governed by the family of Kara-osmán-oglú; in return, Turkish peasants from Asia Minor have settled on some of the Larissæan farms, and have been able to live better than the Greeks, because they are exempt from the kharátj, and some impositions to which the Greeks alone are liable. Some of the grievances to which both the townsmen and peasants are subject are owing to the Vezír Alý, who, as Pashá of Tríkkala and Superintendant of the Dervents, considers himself privileged fre-

quently to visit Lárissa, when it is well understood that he expects a large gratuity, and will not depart without it. He generally finds some excuse also for carrying away with him some Jew or Greek, to be kept in prison until he has extorted a sum of money from him. The Greeks afford him little plunder, being generally poor. The most flourishing trade seems to be that of physician, of whom there are several at Lárissa; at Tríkkala, the favourite abode of Æsculapius, there was not one. The expression ἐκαλάσθηκε ὁ κόσμος, (the world is ruined), so common all over Greece, is repeated here loudly, not less by the Turks than by the Greeks. They allude to the increasing poverty, and to the excessive rise in the price of provision, and every necessary of life within the last few years, which has been the ruin of many families. Its causes are the necessities of the Porte, the progressive debasement of the currency, the extortion of local governors, and particularly in this part of the country the destruction of industry consequent upon the oppressive government of Alý Pashá, his wars, his *progresses*, his arbitrary demands, and the forced maintenance of his Albanian soldiers.

The Greeks being in that small proportion at Lárissa which I have stated, are ill-treated whenever any affair in which a Turk is concerned is brought before the kadý. Not many days ago, a Greek entering the town with an ass-load of charcoal, from one of the mountains which supply Lárissa, was killed by a Turk, for no other reason than because the latter wished to have the char-

coal, while the Greek insisted upon carrying it to the market, where he was more sure of being paid for it. As the poor Greek had no friends ready with the proper compliment for the kadý, and none of the persons who were present at the murder, and who were chiefly Turks, were able or willing to swear that he saw the Turk point the pistol or pull the trigger, the kadý declared there was a want of evidence, and discharged the prisoner. As three Christian witnesses are only considered equal to one Turk, there is little chance of justice for the Christian at the Turkish tribunal. Where Christians only are concerned, the Turkish law seldom interferes, except in criminal cases, leaving the affair to the bishop or hodjábashi. The Greeks nevertheless not unfrequently carry their disputes to the mekhemé, though they generally have reason to repent it.

Here, as in other parts of Turkey, the Jews are less oppressed, unless perhaps when by some imprudence they allow it to be suspected that they are wealthy, and thus excite extortion. The preference of the Turks for the Jews does not arise from any respect for this people, whom they hold in extreme contempt, but because they have no fears from the Jews, while they consider the Christians as the natural allies of their European enemies, by whom the Ottoman Empire is destined to be overthrown, and the Musulman faith to be destroyed. The Jews moreover recommend themselves to the Turks as being ardent haters of the Greeks. At Lárissa they speak Spanish, in common with those of the rest of Greece, whose ances-

tors migrated to this country in great numbers, when expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. Benjamin of Tudela, in his journey through Greece, three centuries earlier, did not pass through Lárissa, so that we remain uninformed whether any Jews then inhabited this city.

The greater part of the rich plain which lies between Lárissa and Mount *Olympus* is inhabited by a race of Turks cultivating their own lands and employed almost entirely in agriculture. They are descendants of the earliest Turkish settlers, and by the Greeks are called Koniáridhes [1], a name as old probably as the eleventh century, when Iconium was the seat of Turkish power, and when Turkish auxiliaries were employed by Alexius Comnenus in Thessaly against the Normans: though their permanent settlement in this country cannot be attributed to an earlier period than the 14th century, after their conquest of Adrianople. Some of the Koniaric villages, which are about twenty in number, are situated towards Mount *Ossa*, and others to the southward of Lárissa. The larger are divided into several makhalás, and the whole Koniaric population is not less than ten or twelve thousand.

Nov. 22.—From Lárissa to Férsala.—The great plain of *Lower Thessaly*, or *Pelasgiotis*, of which Lárissa is still the chief city, extends from the mountains *Titarus* and *Ossa* to *Pelium*, and the branches of *Othrys*, interrupted only by a mountain of no great height now called Karadágh, or in Greek Mavrovúni, which, by means of an inferior

[1] Κονιάριδες.

ridge not far north of Férsala, is united with the heights on the right bank of the Salamvría, which separate the *Pelasgic* plains from the equally extensive levels of *Upper Thessaly*, which constituted the ancient divisions named Thessaliotis and Histiæotis. The ridge to the north of Férsala, although the lowest of all the heights around these plains, is sufficiently high to be seen from Lárissa at a distance of fifteen miles; and one point in it, which lies nearly in a line between Lárissa and Férsala, is rendered conspicuous by several tall cypresses round the tomb of a Turkish sheikh or saint. The road begins to rise very gradually to this ridge, from a point not far from Lárissa; so that between Zarko and Lárissa the lowest level is narrow on the right bank of the river, though very extensive on the left. Below Lárissa the lowest level widens on the right bank towards the foot of Mount *Ossa*, and here is the inundation which I have already mentioned: it is called Karatjaír, and corresponds exactly to the ancient Nessonis which Strabo has described as "a lake in the Larissæa, formed by the overflowing of the river[1]." In fact, there is no other lake in the *Thessalian* plains, except that of Karla, which seems from its position to accord equally well with the ancient Bœbeis.

[1] Λαρισσαῖοι πλησίον μὲν οἰκοῦντες τοῦ Πηνειοῦ, γειτνιῶντες δ' ἐκείνοις (sc. Perrhæbis) νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ εὐδαιμονέστατα μέρη τῶν πεδίων, πλὴν εἴ τι σφόδρα κοῖλον πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ Νεσσωνίδι, εἰς ἣν ὑπερκλύζων ὁ ποταμὸς ἀφῃρεῖτο τι τῆς ἀροσίμου τοὺς Λαρισσαίους· ἀλλ' ὕστερον παραχώμασιν ἐπηνώρθωσαν Λαρισσαῖοι..—Strabo, p. 440.

From the point where the road begins to rise, as far as the summit of the ridge of the Sheikh, the whole country has a gently undulated surface, and consists of a fertile soil, which, though well cultivated around several small villages, has far the largest portion, particularly on the right side of the road, in a state of nature, and covered with thorns. The cultivated land is ploughed but not yet sown. The other parts furnish an excellent pasture to the sheep, which are driven here in great numbers in winter from the mountains around Thessaly. All the southern part of the country just mentioned I take to have been the territory of the Crannonii, more anciently named Ephyræi [1], the extent of whose pastures may be inferred from the allusion made by Theocritus to the numerous flocks and herds possessed by the Scopadæ [2], one of the leading families of Crannon.

At the end of two hours and a half we halt for dinner at a fountain; and proceeding at 12.40, arrive at the summit of the ridge of the Sheikh at a little after 2. The only trees I have seen on the route

[1] Pindar. Pyth. 10, v. 85. Strabo, p. 442. Stephan. in Κράνων.

[2] Πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλαυνόμενοι ποτὶ σακὸν
Μύσχοι σὺν κεραοῖσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βόεσσι.
Μυρία δ' ἀμπεδίον Κρανώνιον ἐνδιάασκον
Ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξείνοισι Κρεώνδαις.
Theocr. Id. 16, v. 36.

Scopas was son of Creon and Echecratia.

Diactorides, one of the Scopadæ, was a suitor for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon.—Herodot. l. 6, c. 127.

are wild pears and dwarf oaks, the latter of which cover a large tract of the uncultivated downs, and are not more than a foot high, though exactly resembling the common oak, and still bearing both leaves and acorns. The road crosses the ridge at a mile to the right of the Sheikh, and at the summit opens upon an extensive prospect, but which is not seen to-day to advantage on account of the cloudiness of the atmosphere. On a clear day it commands the greatest part of Thessaly, included within the renowned barriers of Olympus, Ossa, Pelium, Othrys, and Pindus. Pelium, however, particularly its southern part, is considerably hidden by Mount Karadágh. We look down immediately upon the valley of the *Enipeus*, and the scene of the great victory which gave the world to Cæsar. It is bounded on the other side by a range of mountains branching from *Othrys*, the summit of which is seen above them to the south-eastward. The town of Férsala lies at the foot of the hills, immediately opposite to us. To the right, the extensive plain, watered by the *Enipeus*, *Apidanus*, and *Peneius*, is spread at the foot of the Agrafiótiko, or great snowy range of 'Agrafa. The ridge of the Sheikh, which has a rise almost imperceptible on the north, slopes rapidly into the *Pharsalian* valley, leaving on the descent the village of Tatáris a little to the right. Several other Turkish villages occupy the valley as well as the hills on either side. At 2.23 we enter the level, and at 2.55 ford the Fersalíti, as the Greeks now call the *Enipeus*, just below a handsome bridge of seven arches, which shows that

the river is sometimes formidable, though now narrow, clear, and about two feet deep, flowing with a slow current; from thence, crossing some open corn-land we enter Férsala at 3.30.

Férsala, called Tjatáltje by the Turks, and often by the Greeks [1], covers the foot of a height, somewhat detached from the rest of the range, which bounds the valley of the *Enipeus* to the southward, and having a natural citadel formed by a tabular summit which is encircled by a low precipice of rock. The town contains between six and seven hundred inhabited houses, and many others empty: there are five or six mosques, and the population is entirely Turkish, except at the two extremities of the town to the east and west, which are inhabited by Greek artisans, and keepers of shops in the bazár, or by zevghítes [2], who cultivate the Turkish lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the town. Our konák is at a shopkeeper's at the eastern end of the town,—a neat cottage with a plastered floor, well furnished with mats and other strómata [3], and having a yard which contains a stable and a good provision of fire-wood.

[1] τὰ Φέρσαλα, Τζατάλτζε.

[2] ζευγίταις.

[3] Στρώματα: mats, carpets, cushions, and mattresses, covered with carpets or cloth, and sometimes with costly stuffs made of linen, cotton, or silk; with the exception, in short, of a diminutive table used only for eating, strómata are the entire furniture of an Oriental apartment, serving for drawing-room, dining-room, and bed-chamber. The description of Aristophanes (Acharn. v. 1089) in the line κλίναι, τραπέζαι, προκεφάλαια, στρώματα, shows that the Greeks have always furnished their houses nearly in the same manner. It is one

Férsala is one of the most important military positions in Greece, as standing at the entrance of the most direct and central of the passes which lead from the plains of Thessaly to the vale of the *Spercheius* and *Thermopylæ*. With a view to ancient warfare, the place had all the best attributes of a Hellenic polis or fortified town: a hill rising gradually to the height of six or seven hundred feet above the adjacent plain, defended on three sides by precipices, crowned with a small level for an acropolis, watered in every part of the declivity by subterraneous springs, and still more abundantly at the foot by sources so copious as to form a perennial stream. With these local advantages, and one of the most fertile plains in Greece for its territory, Pharsalus inevitably attained to the highest rank among the states of Thessaly, and became one of the largest cities of Greece, as its ruined walls still attest.

The height which was occupied by the Acropolis, consists of two rocky tabular summits, united by a lower ridge. The western summit is lower than the eastern, and is not above a third of it in length. The entire Acropolis was about five hundred yards long, and from one hundred to fifty broad, but still narrower in the connecting ridge, where are the remains of two gates nearly opposite to each other, one of which led down a

among the Greek luxuries which have subdued the hardy Turk. The American weed has been another powerful instrument in his corruption.

steep descent at the back of the Acropolis, the other into the city. On one side of the northern gateway, the ancient masonry consists of irregular masses of rock, having smaller stones in the intervals, as at Tiryns; but the masses are not so large as some of those in the latter ruin: one measures 5 feet 7 inches, by 3.10 by 2.4. Another piece of wall toward the eastern summit seems to be of an antiquity not less remote. All the other remains, both of the town and citadel, are of the kind of masonry which was employed about the time when history gives reason to believe that Pharsalus was very populous and powerful[1]. There is a monument, however, of very early times in the middle of the Acropolis, which taken together with the remnants of Cyclopian walls, may favor the opinion that this city was the capital of Phthia in the time of the Trojan war. It is a subterraneous construction, built in the same manner as the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. Below an oval opening, level with the present surface of the ground, eight feet two inches long, and six feet ten inches broad, eight courses of stone, in all about ten feet high, nearly cubical,

[1] None but the most opulent republics could maintain large bodies of cavalry, and for this kind of military force Pharsalus was eminent even among the Thessalians. In the battle of Gaugamela, the Pharsalian horsemen (*οἱ τῶν Φαρσηλίων ἱππεῖς*) were the most numerous, as well as the best of the cavalry of Parmenio; and by their conduct had already saved the right wing, before Alexander, who was diverted by its danger from his pursuit of Darius, had arrived. Arrian, l. 3, c. 11. 15.

and laid together as usual without cement, are visible above the rubbish which fills up all the lower part of the monument. In the three or four upper courses, each course projects a little beyond the one below it; but those below, as far as they are visible, have the spheroidal curve of the interior of the treasury of Atreus.

The Acropolis of Pharsalus was replaced by a castle of Roman, or Imperial Greek times, which is now itself a complete ruin. It included not only the level occupied by the Acropolis, but the upper part of the adjacent slope to the north, inclosing about a sixth part of the ancient city. At the top of the hill the walls of this castle were raised on the remains of the Hellenic inclosure, but on the slope they were constructed, from the foundation, of rough materials mixed with mortar, though cased in some parts with squared blocks taken from the more ancient ruins: in this part they are thicker even than the Hellenic walls, being not less than eleven feet. In the Acropolis are two or three cisterns of the same kind of masonry as the modern castle; one of these is fifty-five feet long and twenty-five broad. The summit of the hill commands a most extensive view, bounded to the north by *Olympus*, and comprehending to the westward all the great plains of *Upper Thessaly* as far as Tríkkala and the rocks of Metéora. Due south is seen a high summit near Zitúni, between which and the ridges near Férsala is an elevated valley, containing the villages Kaklidjí and Tjeutmá.

The ancient city was near four miles in circuit,

and of the very common form of an irregular triangle; the walls are traceable on the two descending sides in their entire extent. On the eastern slope of the mountain, which is very steep, and naturally defended by a torrent, there are no towers, nor even any of those short flanks which were common among the Greeks when towers were not employed. Near the north-eastern angle a piece of the ancient wall, having eight regular courses of masonry, now forms part of the wall of the episcopal church of Férsala. In few other parts of the ancient inclosure so many courses remain.

On the western side, the walls, towards the upper part, made a wide sweep, for the purpose of following the crest of two detached heights, and that of a ridge which unites them. Between the citadel and the nearest of these two summits, which is rocky, and rises almost to a level with the citadel, the ground is hollow, with a gradual declivity, and is consequently weaker than in other parts; hence the hollow was fortified with a second wall, distant fifty yards from the outer, and having an obtuse re-entering angle in the middle. The ridge which unites the two heights just mentioned being almost at right angles with the double wall, formed an additional security to this weak point. The northern, or lower wall of the city, on the edge of the plain, was a mile in length; it is traceable only in a few places, chiefly where excavations have been made by modern masons, to take away the foundations, and which thus sufficiently

show to what we are to attribute the disappearance of this wall. There are still, however, some remains of it above ground at the western extremity of the modern town, particularly at the foot of a rock above a pool and some sources of water, uniting in a permanent stream, which, after a winding course through the plain, joins the *Enipeus*, near Vashlí. Near the pool are two courses of a tower, 20 feet square, from which it may be judged that all this northern front of the town, on account of its being naturally the weakest, was fortified by a chain of towers, although there were very few on the western, and none on the eastern face of the city. A few stones remaining in their places to the westward of the springs, show that the northern wall joined the western, exactly at the spot where the road from the west enters the modern town.

Besides the fountains which issue from the rocks below the town, in many pellucid streams, and which were obviously one of the recommendations of the site to the founders of the city, the Pharsalii were supplied from sources on the height by an aqueduct, excavated in the form of a deep trough in the rock, and covered with large stones reaching from side to side. At one place I observed a descent into the conduit of several steps, and a piece of wall of a later date, formed of tiles which crossed the opening. The modern Pharsalians supply the fountains of their town in the same manner; the lower sources serving only for washing, or to gratify the Turks in summer by the coolness, the agreeable sound of the running water, and the

shade of the plane trees. In order to enjoy these favorite luxuries the better, they have constructed several kiosks, in some of which the water issues from the ground in the building. The margins of the springs are bordered by squared blocks, some of which were probably placed there by the ancients; others have been transferred from the ruined walls to their actual positions by the Turks. Many wrought stones are to be seen in the houses, steps, and pavements of the town, but I can find no relics of sculpture, and only one inscription (No. 14), which is inserted in the wall of the Greek church. It was the monument of Aurelia Phila who denounces a penalty against any one who shall open her tomb, or place another body in it, and is curious only for its bad spelling: παραγγέλλει is written παρανγελλι—τεθῆναι, τεθηνε—εἰς, ις—ἀνοῖξαι, ανυξε.

Nov. 23.—Having moved from Férsala at 1.25, P.M. in a westerly direction, we pass through an opening which separates the ridges adjoining to the ancient site from a north-western projection of the same range, and at 2.15 re-enter the great plain. The hills now take a direction to the south-west, as far as Ghynekókastro, from whence to the head of the plain under Dhomokó they trend more to the south. At a distance of about 10 miles to the westward are the lower heights of 'Agrafa and behind them the steep snowy mountains of that district. In re-entering the plain, Vrysiá (Turcicè Bey Bunár) is a mile on the left, at the foot of the hills; the village takes its name from some very copious springs which issue from

under the rocks a little below it, and form a considerable stream which we cross by a bridge at 2.30. From hence the road leads directly to the point of Ghynekó-kastro [1], where we arrive at 2.55. All this corner of the plain, and as far as can be seen on the right, consists of a fine turf, now covered with sheep and cattle, with the exception of a few patches of arable land, surrounding some small Turkish villages. The soil seems equally adapted to cultivation or pasture, and as the adjacent hills furnish food to the cattle in summer when the plains are parched, the country well deserves the double character conveyed by the epithets which Homer attached to Phthia [1].

Ghynekó-kastro is the modern name of a Hellenic ruin, standing upon an extremity of the *Phthiotic* ridges; remains of walls of the third order of masonry inclose the north-western face of the hill, which slopes in that direction, and surround also a long narrow tabular summit, which was the ancient Acropolis. At the back the descent is more rapid, and on that side the wall and towers of the citadel remain perfect to one third of their original height. Although small compared with Pharsalus, this seems to have been a place of some importance. After having remained here a quarter of an hour, we proceed, and soon arrive in sight of Dhomokó, situated on the summit of the ridge which here closes the plain. Half an hour

[1] Γυναικό-καστρον.

[2] *Φθίῃ ἐριβώλακι βωτιανείρῃ.*
Il. A. v. 155.

beyond Ghynekó-kastro we pass some sources on the right side of the road; and on the left a ruined mosque standing on a height. Here is an extensive Turkish burying-ground, in which one of the tomb-stones is an ancient Greek statue of a female, wanting the head. From the mosque we cross direct towards Dhomokó, which does not lie exactly above the extremity of the plain, but rather towards the 'Agrafa side, and in one hour and 25 minutes from the mosque reach the foot of the hills, on which the town is situated, when leaving on the left the direct road to Zitúni, we arrive at the town at 5.15, after a tedious ascent of 40 minutes, rendered disagreeable by the rain, and difficult by the slippery path, and the weakness of our wretched cattle. Dhomokó[1] contains about 300 families and several large houses: half the inhabitants are Greek and half Turks. The situation resembles that of Dhimitzána in the Moréa, standing upon the two sides and crest of a ridge in a very lofty situation. In the menzíl road, which we quitted at the foot of the mountain, is a large khan, on one side of which a copious spring and pool of water supplies canals, which after turning several mills on the side of the hill, are collected into a small stream flowing to join the others of similar origin, which we have this day passed. The house in which I lodge belongs to four partners[2] in trade, all of whom have their families in the house.

Nov. 24.—This being Sunday, the usual market

[1] Δομοκός. [2] συντρόφοι.

day in Greece, a concourse of people crowd the village, buying and selling corn, maize, and other agricultural commodities. There is no want of evidence to show that Dhomokó stands exactly on the site of the ancient Thaumaci. The bishop, who is one of the suffragans of Lárissa, is styled ὁ Θαυμάκου καὶ Ζητουνίου; and two inscribed marbles are still preserved, in which the words πόλις Θαυμακῶν occur several times [1]. Many Hellenic foundations are to be seen around the town, though

[1] . . . . . .
τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι κατ' ἰδίαν τῶν πολι . . . . . .
τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει τῇ Θαυ(μακῶν) . . . . .
ης ἀντεχομένῳ ἔδ(οξε τῇ πόλει τῇ Θαυμακῶν ἐπαίνε-)
σαί τε Ἀνδροσθένην ἐπὶ τῇ προαιρέσει ἣν ἔχ(ων τυγχάνει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν)
ἐν τοῖς διαπεπραγμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐχρησ(τήμασι, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν τῆς πό-)
λεως τῆς Θαυμακῶν πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην (καὶ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ, πα-)
ρὰ τῆς πόλεως Θαυμακῶν τὰ τίμια καὶ φιλάνθ(ρωπα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις)
(εὐεργέ)ταις τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχει καὶ τοὺς Ταγοὺ(ς . . . .
. . . . . (ἀντί)γραφον τοῦ ψηφίσματο(ς . . . . .
. . . (ἐν) ἀναγραφῇ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα . . .

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Πόλις Θαυμακῶν ἔδωκε Ἀγέστῳ Ἀγρολέωνος Καλλιεῖ προξενίαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας, ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις πρόξενοις πάντα· ἀρχόντων Σφοδρία, Λε . . . . . φανα, ἔνγυος τᾶς προξενίας Πολυμνι . . . . .

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. Πόλις Θαυμακῶν ἔδωκεν Πύῤῥᾳ Τιμαγόρου Ἡρακλειώτᾳ, ὄντι εὐεργέτᾳ αὐτᾶς, προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις πάντα, ἀρχόντων . . . . . Νικομάχου, ἔνγυος τᾶς προξενίας Νεοπτόλεμος Εὐηθίδου.

V. Inscriptions 15, 16, 17.

too disjointed to indicate the exact plan or extent of the place. The inscriptions are grants of proxenia, to foreign benefactors, with the accompanying privileges: two of the favoured persons were citizens of Heracleia and of Callium, both which towns were in or near the valley of the Spercheius. At the southern end of the town a rocky point overtopping the other heights, commands a magnificent prospect of the immense plain watered by the *Peneius*, and its branches, which extends from Pharsalus to Æginium; behind the latter rise the rocks of the Metéora, distant at least 50 miles in a direct line. This is the view which Livy describes, following probably the words of Polybius, in relating an attempt made upon Thaumaci by Philip son of Demetrius, at the close of the year (B.C. 199) which preceded that of his defeat at the Aoi Stena. The historian remarks that Thaumaci was situated in the pass called Cœla, in a lofty position defended by precipices, where the traveller entering Thessaly from Thermopylæ and Lamia, after having passed over rugged mountains and intricate valleys, suddenly came in sight of a plain resembling an immense sea, and so extensive that its extremity was scarcely visible[1]. A reinforcement of Ætolians having penetrated through the guards of Philip into the city, he abandoned the siege, and retired into winter quarters in Macedonia.

[1] Thaumaci a Pylis sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti loco alto siti sunt ipsis faucibus imminentes quas Cœla vocant: Thessaliæque transeunti confragosa loca implicatasque flexibus vallium vias, ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente

The situations of Pharsalus and Thaumaci being determined with certainty, there remains the greatest probability that Ghynekó-kastro is the ancient Proerna which Strabo names among the towns of Phthiotis, together with Thaumaci and Pharsalus[1], and which in the war with Antiochus, eight years after the transaction just alluded to, was taken by the Consul Acilius, in his way from Larissa to Hypata. On this occasion his first march was from Larissa to Crannon. As he advanced, he received the submission of Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pheræ, took Proerna and some castles near it, but was attacked as he approached Thaumaci from the woods and mountains overhanging the pass; he penetrated however to the town, which had been deserted, and the next day, arriving upon the banks of the Spercheius, ravaged the lands of the Hypatæi[2].

On quitting Dhomokó we make a circuit of the hill, and proceed by a short descent into an elevated plain, which extends south-eastward to the foot of the mountain of Gura, the proper *Othrys,* and to the northward rises by a gentle slope to the summit behind Férsala. Having traversed this plain, we descend over an uncultivated tract into the lower plain of Tauklí, leaving a mile to the right the nearest part of the lake of Tauklí, which

velut maris vasti sic immensa panditur planities, ut subjectos campos terminare oculis haud facile queas. Ab eo miraculo Thaumaci appellati, nec altitudine solum tuta urbs, sed quod saxo undique abscisso rupibus imposita est. — Liv. l. 32, c. 4.

[1] Strabo, p. 434.

[2] Liv. l. 36, c. 14.

occupies all the lowest part of the plain, and is six miles in circumference. The greatest dimension of the plain is from east to west; the soil seems fertile, but is little cultivated. We cross it obliquely by a road which the rain of yesterday has rendered very bad, and having reached the hills on the southern side, leave Tauklí on the right, and beyond it a promontory or peninsula in the lake, distant two or three miles from us, on which are some remains of ruined edifices. It is probably the ancient Xynia, for that place gave name to a lake on the southern borders of Thessaly, not far from the country of the Ænianes, who inhabited the valley of the Spercheius[1]. Beyond the lake the ground rises to the hills of 'Agrafa.

In the plain of Tauklí we joined the main road from Férsala to Zitúni, which crosses the mountain at the back of the former town, leaving the summit on the right. The heights of Tauklí are part of a ridge which branching from the mountain of Gura, borders the plain of the *Spercheius* on the north, and is connected with the mountains of 'Agrafa to the west. Our passage over it is in the lowest part; but there is another pass to the westward called the dervéni of Karyá, which leads from Tauklí directly to Neópatra. These are the two natural entrances into Thessaly from the southward; and the plain of Tauklí with Zitúni, Dhomokó, and Férsala, are therefore the most im-

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 13; l. 33, c. 3; l. 39, c. 26. Polyb. ap. Stephan. Byz. v. Ξυνία. Apollodor. Argon. l. 1, c. 67. Catull. Carm 63, v. 287. Stephanus also mentions the lake, but confounds it with the Bœbias or Bœbeis.

portant military positions of the frontier. Having ascended the ridge along the side of a gorge formed by a small torrent, we arrive in two hours and three quarters from Dhomokó at a dervéni, where a guard is stationed for the protection of the pass. The rain falls heavily as we proceed, and the road is very bad, winding among woody mountains, but without much ascent. This is the δρυμὸς Μαλεαῖος, or Maliac forest, which, not long ago, was as dangerous as it seems to have been in ancient times, but which now, thanks to the strong arm of Alý Pashá, is acknowledged to be free even from suspicion [1], like the greater part of the country over which his guardianship as Dervént Agá extends. Anciently in some part of this forest stood the sepulchral monument of a young man named Derxias, who had been murdered by robbers, and whose epitaph is still preserved in the Anthologia [2]. At the end of seventy-five minutes from the first dervéni we pass a second, which, as well as the whole defile, is known by the name of Furka. The road then begins to descend towards Zitúni, and soon brings us in sight of the plain of the *Spercheius*. From the Furka to Zitúni is a distance of one hour, in a direction more easterly than before. After some delay at the entrance of Zitúni I obtain a lodging

[1] ὑποψία.

[2] Εἰπὲ ποτὶ Φθίαν εὐάμπελον ἦν ποθ' ἵκηαι
Καὶ πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, ὦ ξένε, Θαυμακίαν,
Ὡς δρυμὸν Μαλεαῖον ἀναστείβων ποτ' ἔρημον
Εἶδες Λάμπωνος τόνδ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ τάφον
Δερξίᾳ, ὃν ποτε μοῦνον ἔλον δόλῳ οὐδ' ἀναφανδὸν
Κλῶπες ἐπὶ Σπάρταν δῖαν ἐπειγόμενον.
Anthol. Jacobs. vol. iii. p. 287.

in the house of one of the principal Greeks, who is absent, but whose family is at home. The house is built on the same plan as the generality of the better sort of Greek houses in this part of the country: a lower story serves chiefly as a stable and storehouse, the upper consists of a row of four chambers opening into a wide gallery, almost as large as all the other apartments together; none of these has any door or window but into the gallery, and within they are black with smoke and dirt. The walls of the lower story are formed of loose stones cemented with mud, those of the upper of sun-baked bricks, plastered and whitewashed. In few of the houses are the walls upright, or the floors level, owing to the green timber and loose masonry, which settle into a distorted form. My konák is an extreme example, and seems to require only a slight earthquake, or a strong euroclydon, to crumble it into a heap of ruins. It has, nevertheless, stood these forty years, and is said to have settled into its present shape soon after it was built.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

CHAPTER I.

Note I.

BIOGRAPHY OF ALY PASHA.

As poetry in a rude state of society generally precedes prose, as a record of events, or of the exploits of individuals, it is not surprising to find among the Albanians, that the actions of their hero Alý, have been committed to writing in verse. This composition, of which I procured a copy in MS., consists of about 4,500 *στίχοι πολιτικοὶ*, and although as barbarous in versification, phrase, and sentiment, as the manners which it depicts, is probably, as far as it goes, the most authentic memoir of the life of Alý which can be procured. The author was a Musulman Albanian, acquainted only with the colloquial Greek of Albania, and its borders, without the smallest tincture of Greek learning, and not even able to write his own verses. The language of the poem, therefore, most correctly represents the vulgar dialect of those countries, and may serve to compare with that of Southern Greece, of which an example has been given in Travels in the Morea, chap. viii. The work being thus in more than one respect curious, I have been induced to subjoin a brief description of the subject-matter, together with a few extracts as specimens. The peculiarity of the dialect consists in the frequent use of Turkish words, which arises not so much from any extensive knowledge of that language possessed by the Mahometans of Greece and Albania, as from the Turkish manners and habits, which have been a consequence of the change of religion among the Albanians. In considering the poem as a historical docu-

ment, it is necessary to remember, that as a poet the author uses exaggeration, and that as a Musulman, he regards the Christians as an inferior class, upon whom the treachery and cruelty exercised by his hero are little else than laudable proofs of wisdom and power. It is natural that he should differ in many of his facts relating to the Suliote war, as well as in some of the motives by which he accounts for them, from the Christian historian of Suli and Parga, of whose work an abstract is subjoined as an additional note to chapter v. But this is the only material difference; it is certain that the Pashá's craft and perseverance, his riches and superior strength, had gradually undermined the union, courage, and patriotism of the Suliotes, had filled them with suspicions of one another, and that some of them, tainted with avarice, had listened separately to his deceitful promises, when famine came to his assistance, and completed that subjugation which after all might not otherwise have been effected.

The poem begins without any title or name to it, thus:

1805, Νοεμβρίου 25.

ἰδοὺ γράφω τοῦ 'Αλῆ πασιᾶ ἀφέντημας τὰ θαύματα ὁποῦ ἔχει καμωμένα ἕως τὴν τελείωσιν τοῦ Σουλίου:—

"Behold I write the wonders of our master, Alý Pashá, which he has done until the end (of the affair) of Suli."

Alý was the son of Velý and Khanko, who had a presentiment that if her son should be a male, he would live long, and lay down the law from Tepeléni to Edrené (Adrianople).

κ' εἶπε ἂν εἶναι σερνικὸ[1] *πολὺ θέλει νὰ ζήσῃ*
ἀπ' ἐδῶ καὶ στὸν 'Εντρενὲ νιζάμι[2] *θὲ νὰ δώσῃ.*

Concerning the Pashá's ancestors, the author remarks only that Mukhtár, his grandfather, distinguished himself at the siege of Corfú (in the year 1716), where he entered the castle by assault, and hung up his sword upon the gate.

Velý Pashá being in a dying state calls his dependents around him, and recommends his son to their guidance and protection, during the inexperience of youth, lest he should lose the revenue

[1] *ἀρσενικόν.* [2] nizám T. *order.*

of forty purses[1] accruing from the district of Zagóri, which was his principal inheritance.

τὶ ὁ Κουρτπασιᾶς εἶναι ἄπιστος, εὐθὺς τόνε σκοτώνει,
καὶ τὸ Ζαγόρι προβοδεῖ εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ ζαπώνει.

"For Kurt Pashá is faithless, and will immediately kill him,
And will proceed to Zagóri and take it."

The first act of Alý Bey's government is to summon all the chiefs of Zagóri, and threaten them with his vengeance, if they should be persuaded to join Kurt Pashá.

πήγαν καὶ τὸν προσκύνησαν τοῦ φίλησαν τὸ χέρι,
καὶ τοῦ εἶπαν νὰ ὁποῦ ἤρθαμε ποῦ ἔστειλες χαμπέρι,
ἡμεῖς ντοβᾶ[2] σοῦ κάμνομεν ἀφέντημας νὰ ζήσῃς,
νὰ στεριωθῇς στό πόστισου νὰ μᾶς κουμανταρίσῃς.

"They went and submitted, and kissed his hand,
And said, Behold we have come upon receiving your message.
We pray, my lord, that you may live,
And be confirmed in your post, and command us."

Alý then proceeds to Paleo Pónghiani[3], from which he exacts a ransom, and from thence to Zagóri, his paternal property (*τὸ βιὸ τὸ πατρικότου*).

καὶ τὸ Ζαγόρι βγήκανε καὶ τὸ ἐπροσκυνοῦνε,
ἄνδρες γυναῖκες καὶ παιδιὰ τὸ μέστιτου[4] φιλοῦνε.

"Zagóri came out (to meet him) and adored him:
Men, women, and children kiss his sock."

Having collected his dues (*κεῖνο ποῦ τοῦ τυχαίνει*), Alý returns to Tepeléni. The people of Pogóghiani and Zagóri, thinking themselves in danger of total ruin, resolve to have recourse to Kurt Pashá.

ἢ παμεμεῖς[5] στὸν Κουρτπασιᾶ τὸν πόνομας νὰ εἰποῦμεν,
ἢ πάμε στὸ Ξερόβαλτο στήν λίμνην νὰ πνιγοῦμεν.

"Either let us go to Kurt Pashá and tell him our griefs,
Or let us go to Xeró-valto and drown ourselves in the lake."

[1] Equivalent at that time to 3000*l.* sterling.

[2] Dová, T. prayer.

[3] Πόγγιανη, properly Πογώγιανη.

[4] Mest, T. the under slipper, formed of a single leather, and generally sewn to the trowsers.

[5] *ὑπάγομεν ἡμεῖς.*

Kurt consoles them with the assurance that he will send for Alý and punish him: then reflecting, that if he can rid himself of the young Bey he shall get all the Rayás into his own power, he sends a flattering letter to Tepeléni, offering to make Alý his kihayá and son-in-law. Alý, with the consent of his mother and tevábs (guardians), many of whom had been bribed by Kurt Pashá at the rate of a thousand Venetian sequins each, proceeds to Berát.

Not being admitted to an immediate audience on his arrival, the young Bey suspects some treachery. He refuses to drink the coffee offered to him, or to deliver up his arms; nor dare any of the attendants take them from him.

The old Pashá then consults the Harém (*τὸ χαρέμι*, that is to say, his wife,) who remonstrates with Kurt for his intended treachery; recalls to his recollection that none of his family had ever been guilty of such an act; asks him what account he will give of it after his death, and ends by advising him to make Alý his son-in-law instead of destroying him.

Kurt states his reasons to his wife for wishing to get rid of Alý.

She sends to Alý, bidding him to be of good courage: informs him that the complaints of Pogóghiani and Zagóri have been the cause of the Pashá's evil intentions towards him, and assures him that he shall be delivered.

Khanko, hearing of the imprisonment of her son, collects a large body of troops, and sends a threatening message to the Pashá, at the same time that she implores the wife of Kurt to obtain Alý's release.

On the further intreaties of the Harém the Pashá angrily consents, predicting at the same time that he shall repent of allowing Alý to depart.

The people of Berát rejoice at the deliverance of Alý, and salute him as he passes through the streets; he returns the compliments, and utters threats against Kurt Pashá.

ὅσο νὰ ζῇ ὁ Κουρτπασιᾶς ῥαάτι[1] *δὲν τοῦ δίνω*
καὶ ἀπ' τὸ δικότου τὸ ῥαγιᾶ κανένα δὲν ἀφίνω,
ὁ Κούρτης ἐπολέμησε τὸ τζάκιμου νὰ κλείσῃ
καὶ τὸ δικόμου τὸ ῥαγιᾶ νὰ τὸν κληρονομήσῃ.

"As long as Kurt Pashá lives I will not allow him to have any repose;

[1] Rahat, T. repose.

Nor will I leave him a single Rayá[1].
(For) Kurt has endeavoured to shut up my chimney[2],
And to inherit my Rayá."

On his arrival at Tepeléni, Alý transmits similar threats in a letter to the Pashá, who replies in the same style.

Khanko represents to her son the inequality of the contest, and that Kurt has riches to pay his troops, whereas

ἡμεῖς λουφέ δὲν ἔχομεν νὰ δώσωμεν στασκέρι.
" We have no pay to give to the army."

Alý replies, that he does not fear consequences, and will never pardon Kurt, who sent for him on pretence of giving him his daughter in marriage, and then endeavoured to take away his life.

Khanko having found a wife for her son, he marries: but cannot forget the affront of Kurt Pashá; and Pogóghiani and Zagóri, alarmed at his menaces, having intreated assistance from the Pashá of Berát, he is resolved to be revenged upon them as well as upon the inhabitants of Khórmovo, who, after having been long attached to his family, had rebelled against him.

He fills his palace with ammunition and provision, treats all who come to him with hospitality, holds out the hope of plunder, and thus collects a considerable force; but is obliged, in an address to them, to confess his poverty.

ἀπλώνει καὶ στὴν τζέπητου καὶ βρίσκει μιὰ ξηντάρα[3],
μιὰν ἑξηντάρα μοναχὴ τὴν βγάνει ἀπ' τὴν τζέπη,
τὴν ἔδειξε στασκέριτου πασάνας νὰ τὴν βλέπῃ,
κ' εἶπε ποῦστε[4] *ἀσκέριμου καὶ ἐδικήμου φάρα,*
γιὰ τὸν λουφέσας σήμερα σᾶς δίδω μιὰ ξηντάρα,
ἀπ' ἐδὼ κεῖθε ξέρετε νὰ σᾶς τὸ εἰπῶ καὶ κεῖνο

[1] When the allied powers endeavoured to intercede in favour of the insurgent Greeks, the substance of the answer of the Porte, for a long time, was little more than, "Are they not our Rayás?" meaning, have we not a right to do as we like with our own human cattle?

[2] *i. e.* to put an end to my family: odjak, T. chimney.

[3] Ἑξηντάρα, a piece of sixty paras, worth at that time four or five shillings.

[4] *ποῦ εἶστε*, where are you.

ἀνίσως μοῦ γυρέψετε ἕν ἄσπρο δὲν σας δίδω·
καὶ τοῦ εἴπανε, δὲν ἤρθαμε ἡμεῖς γιά τὸν παράσον,
κουρμπάνι θὲ νὰ γένωμεν τώρα στὴν ἀφενδιάσου.
μηδὲ ψωμὶ δὲν θέλομεν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφενδιάσου,
μόν' θέλομεν νὰ στεριωθῇς στὸ πόστι τοῦ μπαμπάσου.

"He opens his pocket and finds one exindára:
One exindára only he takes out of his pocket;
He shews it to the army, that every one may see it.
Behold, my army, says he, and my own tribe,
For your pay I give you to-day one exindára,
Henceforth know, for I tell it to you,
That if you require an asper from me I cannot give it you.
And they said to him we came not for your pará (money),
But we will become a sacrifice for your Lordship;
We only desire that you may be established in the post of your father."

Kurt sends three or four thousand men to Pogóghiani, and a larger body to Zagóri; when Alý moves from Tepeléni, attacks and defeats them, and proceeds to Delvináki.

ὅποιος καὶ κεῖταν στὸ χωριὸ τοὺς ἔκαμε ἰλάκι,
ὅσοι καὶ ἂν ἦταν στὰ χωριὰ τούς ἔφαγαν τὰ φίδια,
τοὺς τζάκισε τὰ γόνατα καὶ πλάταις καὶ παγίδια,

"All those who were in the town he slaughtered,
As many as were in the villages, the serpents[1] devoured;
He broke their knees and shoulders and buttocks."

He then inflicts a similar punishment upon Zagóri.

ἀπὸ ταῖς τέσσαρες μεριαῖς τοὺς ἔβαλε τουφέκι
ἐχάθη ὅλος ὁ ῥαγιᾶς καὶ σκόρπισαν ἀπέκει.

"From the four quarters he gave them the musket;
The Rayás were destroyed and dispersed."

Kurt Pashá, meantime, endeavours to surprise Tepeléni; but Alý, learning his design, returns home in haste, performing a journey of twenty hours in eight. The Pashá retreats immediately.

[1] Alý often ended his written orders with the words, "This you will do lest the serpent bite you,"—*νὰ μὴ σᾶς τρώγῃ τὸ φίδι.*

Alý now sends a summons to the people of Khórmovo, ordering them to submit, to honour the Turks[1], and to pay the Kharátj.

οἱ Χορμοβίταις ἄνοιξαν τὸ γράμμα καὶ διαβάζουν,
τὸν Τζαούς πρίφτη γλήγορα στὴν ἐκκλησιὰ τὸν κράζουν·
αὐτὸς εἶναι στὸ Χόρμοβο ποῦ σπέρνει καὶ θερίζει.
καὶ προεστὸ τὸν ἔχουνε ποῦ τοὺς κουμανταρίζει.

"The Khormovites opened the letter and read it,
They quickly called Tzaús Prifti to the church:
At Khórmovo he was the man who sows and reaps;
And they had him as proestós to command them."

They send Alý a message of defiance, upon which he mounts his horse Beliósi, swifter than a flying bird, and falls upon Khórmovo sword in hand.

σὰν τὰ σφαχτὰ στὸ χασαπιὸ κόφτουν καὶ πελεκοῦνε,
ἀκόμι θάῤῥος ἔχουνε καὶ δὲν τὸν προσκυνοῦνε·
σὰν κλόσαις μὲ πολλὰ πουλιὰ ποῦ βλέπουν τὸ σαΐνι,
ἔτζι φωνάζουν οἱ πικροὶ καὶ ῥαΐ δὲν τοὺς ἐδίδει·
ἐμβῆκε ἀπὸ τὴν μία μεριὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλη βγένει,
ποδοπατάει τὰ κορμιὰ καὶ ἀκόμι δὲν χορταίνει·
Ἀλλὰ Βελῆς βουλήθηκε ψυχὴ νὰ μὴν ἀφήσῃ,
καὶ χύθηκαν τασκὲριτου σὰ μανιωμένοι λύκοι.

"They cut and hew them like sheep in the butchery,
Yet they still have courage, and do not submit:
Like hens with many chickens, who perceive the falcon,
So they bitterly cry out while he gives them no quarter;
He entered on one side and came out at the other:
He treads on the bodies and is not yet satisfied;
(For) Alý Velý[2] resolved to leave not a soul,

[1] The Khormovites had been notorious for murdering every Turk they could lay hold of. The poet is silent as to the ill-treatment of Alý's mother and sister soon after his father's death, which was the chief cause of his inveterate hatred towards Khórmovo; but this was a subject which neither as a Musulman, nor from respect to his hero, the poet could allude to.

[2] In his youth Alý was called Alý Velý, *i. e.* Alý, son of Velý. The Velý was dropt when he became a Pashá, except on his signet.

His troops poured down like hungry wolves;
Alý Velý commanded them to find the Tzaús Prifti:
The unhappy man was hidden in the midst of blood."

At length—

τὸ σκοτινὸ τὸ Χόρμοβο ἐγίνηκε βιράνι[1]
καὶ Τζαοὺς Πρίφτης ἐγίνηκε κεμπάμπι[2] *στὸ τηγάνι*

"The dark Khórmovo became a ruin,
And Tzaús Prifti became roast meat in the frying-pan."

Alý next attacks Malisóva, a town inhabited by Rayás of Kurt Pashá, who were so much favoured by him that he would not listen to any complaints made to him of their repeated robberies on the highways. They treat the summons of Alý Bey with contempt, upon which he enters the place, slaughters many and makes the rest prisoners. He then takes Klisúra, with Kurt's officer, (*τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ Κουρτπασιᾶ*,) who commanded there, cuts off his mustachios, and allows the garrison to return. Thence he proceeds to Lábovo; whither Kurt Pashá sends a large body of troops to expel him, but they are defeated after a severe contest.

The Sultán, (*ὁ βασιλέας*,) pleased with Alý's performances, confers the government of the Sanják of Délvino upon him, and makes him Pashá of two tails. He proceeds with 10,000 men[3] to Délvino, but is not long there before he receives a new firmáhn from the Sultán, ordering him, after putting the affairs of Délvino in good order, and collecting the mirí, to proceed to Tríkkala, from whence he is instructed to expel the deputy (*τὸν ἄνθρωπον*) of Kurt Pashá, who commanded the militia (*τὸ ἀρματολίκι*) because they devoured the Rayá like ravenous wolves, *σὰ μανιωμένοι λύκοι*.

Alý, having transmitted the mirí of his Albanian districts to Constantinople, proceeds to Tríkkala, and Kurt Pashá's lieutenant makes his retreat to Berát. Kurt, afflicted at his loss and disgrace, laments that he had not put Alý to death when in his

[1] Wirán, T. ruin.

[2] Kebáb, T. roast.

[3] No great reliance is to be placed upon any of the numbers in this poem: in which respect, indeed, all Oriental narratives may be suspected of exaggeration.

power, and soon afterwards dies. Alý grieves a little (*λυπήθηκε λιγάκι*) at the loss of this "column of the Sanják of Vlióra" (Avlóna).

As soon as the troops of Kurt in the Dervénia, or passes of Northern Greece, hear of his death, they disperse, and the thieves make their appearance. Mahmúd Pashá of Skodra, desirous of succeeding Kurt Pashá in the office of Dervent-Agá of Northern Greece, and holding Alý in contempt (*στὸν νούντου δὲν τὸν βάνει*) orders all the Gkégkidhes to assemble at Okhri. Although the people of Okhri receive Mahmúd with respect, and bid him welcome, (*τοῦ εἴπανε τὸ χόσγγελτι*[1]) he imprisons their rich men, seizes their property, and puts some of them to death; upon which the people of Okhri petition the Sultán, and among other things accuse Mahmúd of disloyalty.

καὶ λέγει ἀπὸ τὸ βασιλιὰ ταφτίτου δὲν ὑδρώνει·
ἀμὰν ἐφέντη βασιλιᾶ νὰ μᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃς,
τὴν Ὀχρι τοῦ Σκόντρα πασιᾶ νὰ μὴ τὴν παραδώσῃς.

"He says that for the king (Sultán) his ear does not sweat:
Mercy, my lord king, and liberate us,
And deliver not up Okhri to the Skodra-Pashá."

Upon receiving these complaints, the Sultán confers the Dervénia upon Alý Pashá, and directs him to expel Mahmúd from Okhri[2].

In addition to the 10,000 Tóskidhes he has with him, he collects 1000 Tzámidhes of the troops of Mahmúd Daliáni, and marching to Okhri, enters the town, cuts off a thousand heads, and takes 2000 prisoners. Mahmúd demands a cessation of arms, and in the night effects a retreat on the road to Skodra. Alý, at the entreaty of his own army, spares 300 of the prisoners, and leaves them in possession of their arms. The rest he beheads, and sends their heads to Constantinople.

The Sultán, on hearing that Alý has put things in order at Okhri, sends a *φερμάνι χάτι χουμαγιοῦν*[3], appointing him to the

[1] Hosh Gheldi, T. welcome.

[2] It was to check the two other great chieftains of Albania, that the Porte encouraged Alý in his first advances to power.

[3] Fermáhn Háti Humayún, T. a sublime written decree.

government of Ioánnina, and reminds him that the Dervénia were conferred upon him for the safety of the Rayás.

καὶ τὰ ντερβένια σοῦστειλα 'Αλήμου νὰ περάσῃς
γιατὶ ὁ ῥαγιᾶς ἐσκορπισε νὰ στείλῃς νὰ τὸν μάσῃς.

"I sent you the Dervénia, my Alý, to traverse,
Because the Rayás had dispersed, and that you might send and collect them."

ταῦτα—καὶ τίραξε καλὰ 'Αλῆ πασιᾶ παιδίμου
νά μή κλαυθῇ κάνας ῥαγιᾶς, νὰ ἔχῃς τὴν εὐχήμου.
σὰν πάει στήν "Οχρη 'Αλῆ πασιᾶς καὶ τόδοσε νιζάμι
δύσι καὶ ὅλη ἡ 'Αραπὶα τοῦτ' ἄκουσαν το κάμῃ.

"These—and look to it, Alý Pashá, my son,
That no Rayá complains—you have my prayer.
When Alý Pashá went to Okhri, and put it in order,
The West and all Arabia heard what he had done."

He now proceeds to Ioánnina, where the Beys tremble at his approach, but hide their arms and their power. They go out to meet and receive him, but their hearts are cold (*μὲ τὴν καρδιά τους κρύα*).

He summons Beys, Kadís, and Agás before him, threatens them with death if they continue to oppress the poor, and forbids their wearing arms.

He distributes governments to his faithful Tóskidhes, and begins to construct a palace at Ioánnina, the magnificence of which the poet declares himself unable to describe.

Here the Pashá enjoys himself in repose: all Rumilí kneels down before him and kisses his sock, while he thinks of the piece of sixty parás with which he began.

'Αρβανιτιὰ καὶ 'Ρούμηλη ταῖς δένει μὲ ἕνα ῥάμμα,
ὁ λύκος καὶ τὸ πρόβατο τὰ δύο βόσκουν ἀντάμα.

"Albania and Rumilí he ties together with a thread:
The wolf and the lamb both feed together."

ὅλος ὁ κόσμος γιούρτισε κιόλα τὰ βιλαέτια
καὶ φέρνουν στὸν 'Αλῆ πασιᾶ φλωριὰ[1] *μὲ τὰ σεπέτια*

[1] *φλωρία*. Φλωρὶ, this word was probably first introduced into the language with the gold coin of Florence, but is now applied to all gold coin.

ὥρα τὴν ὥρα 'Αλῆ πασιᾶς ἀκόμι πλειὸ βαρένει,
τὸ ὄνομάτου ἀκούσθηκὲ στὸ 'Ηντε στὸ Γεμένι,
σεφτὰ ῥηγάτα Φράγγικα ἀκούσθη τὸ 'νομάτου,
κανένας ὡσ τὰ σήμερα δὲν στάθηκε μπροστάτου.

"All the world made festivities, and all the districts:
They bring Alý Pashá golden coins and coffers.
Hour by hour Alý Pashá weighs more heavy:
His name is heard in Hind, in Yemen,
In the Seven Frank Kingdoms his name is heard;
And no one to this day hath stood before him."

The Sultán now goes to war with the German—(*ἔχει σεφέρι μὲ τὸν Νέμιτζα.*) And orders the Rumilí Válesi, or Governor-General of Rumelia, (*ὁ 'Ρούμελης,*) to the defence of Belgrade, where the army of the Kiafér *(infidel)* had crossed the Duna, (Danube,) and taken the fort of Kulúk Kalé. The Rúmelis pitches his camp thirty hours distant from the enemy. But nevertheless,

καὶ τοῦ γράφει τοῦ βασιλιᾶ πούρθα στὸ Μπελιγράτι,
καὶ τζάκισα τοῦ Νέμιτζα τὰ κόκκαλα κομμάτι.

"He writes to the Sultán—I am arrived at Belgrade,
And have broken the German's bones a little."

He recommends at the same time that Alý Pashá should be sent to his assistance, who, receiving a firmáhn accordingly, leaves a Vekíl and body of troops at Ioánnina, and marches to the frontier. The Rúmelis, on his arrival, takes courage, and encamps nearer to Belgrade.

They invest the Kulúk Kalé. Alý, with his own troops, takes the castle, puts half the garrison to the sword, sends the other half to Constantinople, then crosses the Danube and takes 4000 prisoners, male and female, (*σκλάβους καὶ σκλάβαις,*) and on the credit of his success writes to the Porte, requesting leave to return home.

καὶ τώρα μοῦ προβόδισε ὁ τόποσμου ἀρζουχάλι,
τὸ Κακοσούλι μοῦγραφαν πῶς σύκωσε κεφάλι.

"My place has now sent me a petition:
They have written to me how Kako Suli has raised its head."

The Porte complies with his request, but directs him to leave his troops behind.

On his arrival at Ioánnina, he orders the assemblage of fresh forces from the Sanják of Délvino, from Dagho, and from Parakálamo, to assist him against the Din-dushmán, or enemy of the faith, as he now designates the Suliotes.

The poet then introduces the mention and praise of Alý's two sons, Mukhtár and Velý, now become Pashás of two tails, and then describes the defeat of the former at Suli (in the year 1792), which he attributes to the treachery of the Tzámidhes. Alý prepares to punish them accordingly; but on their sending messengers to appease him, he dissembles his resentment, offers their soldiers double pay, and augurs victory to their future efforts.

σήμερα χαλασθήκαμε, ταχὺ θὲ νά νικήσω,
στὸ Σούλι τὸν καλόγερον ἐγὼ θὲ νὰ τὸν ψήσω.

"To-day we have been ruined; to-morrow I shall conquer:
At Suli the monk[1] I will roast."

To secure their future fidelity, he requires their chiefs to send their children as hostages to Ioánnina. Ibrahím Demis, of Filiátes, and several others, and even Prónio and Tzapári, comply with these terms. Thus strengthened, he meditates the reduction of the maritime Kiáfa[2] (*Κιάφα τοῦ Γιαλοῦ*). Having represented to the Porte that the Christians of that district are rebellious; that they refuse to pay the Kharátj, and that they have taken possession of the harbours (*σκαλώματα*) for their own benefit, he receives from the Sultán, together with the annual confirmation of the government of Délvino, permission to punish

[1] The Papás Samuel, who already began to make himself conspicuous for his courage and perseverance.

[2] So called to distinguish it from Kiáfa of Suli. It is the maritime part of the district of Délvino, lying between Vutzintró and Khimára. Nivitza and St. Basil are the principal villages.

the rebellious Christians, if they refuse to submit peaceably to his authority.

The people of Kiáfa are alarmed.

καὶ τώρα ἐτρομάξανε καὶ φρίξαν οἱ καϋμένοι
γιατάκουσαν στὸ Χόρμοβο τὶ θρῆνος εἶχε γένη,
τῆς Μαλισόβας τάκουσαν τὰ μαῦρα τὰ μαντάτα
ποῦ δὲν ἀπόμεινε ψυχὴ μήτε σκυλὶ καὶ γάτα,
καὶ κεῖνοι συλλογίσθηκαν στὸ Φράγκο νὰ χωθοῦνε
καὶ στὸ σπαθὶ τ'αλῆ πασιᾶ νὰ μὴ παραδοθοῦνε.

" And now they trembled and shivered the wretches,
For they had heard at Khórmovo what lamentations had taken place,
Of Malisóva they had heard the black news,
Where there remained not a soul, nor a dog, nor a cat,
They thought of hiding themselves with the Frank,
And to the sword of Alý Pashá not to yield."

Kalaúz (an officer of Alý) enters the country, sword in hand, and occupies all the villages. The Pashá thought at first of putting all the people to the sword, but instead of that, he sends 1000 families to the plains of Tríkkala to cultivate his lands, and to build farm-houses (*παλάγγαις*) for themselves.

Alý then visits the coast near the Vivári (Vutzintró), from whence he sends a letter to Corfú, inviting the French governor to a feast and conference. The invitation is accepted in the person of General Rosa (*ὁ Ρόζος*). After dinner Alý inquires the news from Paris, when Rosa tells the Pashá that Paris (*τὸ Παρίσι, i. e.* the French government) has bought all Rumilí as far as Edrené (Adrianople) of the Sultán, that in the approaching spring he (Rosa) is to take possession of it; that he will make Alý a king, or give him Venice if he should desire it.

ὁ πονηρὸς Ἀλῆ πασιᾶς σφαλάει τήν καρδιάτου
καὶ ὁ Ῥόζος ὁ περίφανος ἀπλώθηκε μπροστάτου.

" The crafty Alý Pashá shuts up his heart,
And the haughty Rosa was opened before him."

Alý pretends to enter into the scheme, agrees to abandon his own territories, and the Sultán's cause, on condition of receiving 20,000 purses, without requiring either Venice or Ioánnina.

On Rosa's return to Corfú, two ships are sent to Arta as a present to Alý. The Pashá, alarmed at what he has heard, transmits the intelligence to the Sultán, and to the Vezír of the Seal (*τῆς βοῦλας τὸν* Βεζύρην), with the additional information that Bonaparte (Μποναπάρτες) is preparing in France an expedition against Rumilí.

The Porte in its reply assures Alý that there is no fear for the present: that the French have lost their wits at home, have the other six Frank kingdoms to contend with; and are many of them flying to Constantinople for protection; finally, recommending him to attend to the concerns of his government and keep the Rayá contented.

Alý exclaims on receiving this answer,—

χαΐρι δὲν ἔχομε μεῖς φέτο ἀπ' τὸ ντοβλέτι.

" We have no satisfaction this year from the government."

νά ξέρετε μᾶς μάγεψαν τῆς Φράντζας οἱ διαβόλοι,
καὶ γνῶσι δὲν ἀπόμεινε τοῦ βασιλιᾶ στὴν Μπόλι.

" Know that the devils of France have enchanted us,
And no sense has remained in the King at Constantinople."

οἱ γνωστικοὶ ποῦ βρίσκονται στὴν Μπόλι *δὲν κοτοῦνε,*
τὸν κιὸρ βεζίρη σκιάζονται νὰ πάνε νὰ τοῦ εἰποῦνε,
τοῦ κιὸρ βεζίρη νὰ τοῦ ποῦν τὰ πάτα νὰ ξετάσῃ,
πρῶτα κιαρχῆς τὸν κούσουλα μὲ ξύλα νὰ τὸν κάψῃ.

" The knowing ones at Constantinople dare not,
And are afraid of going to tell the blind Vezír[1],
To tell the blind Vezír to examine affairs to the bottom,
And first of all to burn the Consul (*Ambassador*) with wood."

Alý therefore, notwithstanding the letter of the Sultán collects his forces, and makes his Hasnadár (treasurer) Yussúf, surnamed Arápi, or the Black, his Vekíl (deputy) in the command of 24,000 men.

οἱ μπέϊδες τῆς Ῥούμελης *ὅλοι τὸν προσκυνοῦνε,*
τὸ μαῦρό χέρι τοῦ λαλάτου τὸ γλυκοφιλοῦνε,
ὄντες νὰ βγῆ στὰ Τρίκαλα *οἱ κλέφταις τὸ μαθένουν,*
πηγένουν στάγρια τὰ βουνὰ σχίζουν τὴ γῆν καὶ μπένουν,

[1] Yussúf Pashá, who had lost an eye.

καὶ στὰ ντερβένια πουθενὰ δὲν βρίσκονται ζορμπάδες,
ἀπ' τὸ σπαθὶ τοὺς πέρασε ἀμέτρηταις χιλιάδες.

" The Beys of Rumilí all worship him,
The black hand of the Pashá's foster-father they sweetly kiss.
When the thieves learn that he has proceeded to Tríkkala,
They go into the wild mountains, they open the earth and enter into it,
In the Dervents robbers are no where found,
He has slaughtered unnumbered thousands of them."

ἀκόμι καὶ στασκέριτου αὐτὸς δίνει ἰσάπι,
'Αλῆ πασιᾶς δὲν τὸν ρωτᾶ τὶ κάνεις μωρὲ 'Αράπη.

" Of the army also he gives account (has the direction),
Nor does Alý Pashá ask him, what are you doing, fellow Arab."

Exactly at this time Alý receives a firmáhn, ordering him to march against Pasván Oglu [1] (*Πασβάν-ογλου*), and to command the forces which are to blockade Vidín (*Βιντίνι*) by land; while Husséin Kapitán Pashá is to ascend the Danube with a fleet: " for Pasván-oglu," adds the firmáhn, " and those who obey him on the Danube are rebellious. He keeps the mirí in his hands, acknowledges neither king, nor firmáhn, neither kadí, nor muftí, and exacts double kharátj from the Rayá." Alý is dissatisfied with the firmáhn; nevertheless, leaving his two sons and Yussúf Arápi with 5000 men, he marches with 20,000 to Vidín.

Husséin Pashá gives Alý the chief command of the blockading army, with twenty-four Pashás under him. Pasván-oglu sends a message to Alý, protesting himself a loyal subject,—that he never kept back the mirí, that he is ready to have his conduct

[1] The real motive of Pasván-oglu's rebellion, and which he could not have avoided without resigning his power, was the opposition of the Janissaries of the northern frontier to the Nizám Djedíd, by which new taxes were imposed, to support certain unpopular changes in the administration and army. The modelling of the latter on the European plan, and the abolition of the Janissaries, was the object of the whole measure. The oppression of the Rayá is always an article of accusation against a governor in disgrace: whence it appears that the Porte is unable, rather than unwilling, to protect the Christians, whose petitions on such occasions are generally received with attention.

fairly judged, but that being attacked, he is determined to fight; finally he remarks to Alý,

σήμερα εἶν' ὁ γάμοσμου, ταχὺ εἶναι δικόσου.

" It is my marriage to-day: it will be yours to-morrow."

And hints that the object of the Porte in sending Alý to Vidín is,

καὶ σεῖς καὶ μεῖς νὰ πέσωμε στὴν ντοῦνα νὰ πνιγοῦμε.

" That both you and I may be drowned in the Danube."

Alý acknowledges in reply, that it is not a time for them to quarrel and fight.

ὁ Μπόναπάρτες χαίρεται ἡμεῖς νὰ σκοτωθοῦμε,
ὁ ντιν-ντουσμάνης χαίρεται καὶ τὰ φτεράτου ἁπλώνει,
καὶ τὰ δικάτου σύνορα πολὺ τὰ δυναμώνει·
ὡς τόσο μπρὲ Πασβάντογλου ἐγὼ θά πολεμήσω,
τὸ κάστροσου μουχασερὲ ἐγὼ θὲ νὰ τὸ κλείσω
καὶ βάσταξε τὸ κάστροσου καὶ ράγι μὴ μᾶς δίνε.

" Bonaparte rejoices that we slaughter one another:
The enemy of the faith rejoices and stretches out his wings,
And he strengthens powerfully his own frontiers by it.
But friend Pasván-oglu I shall fight,
I shall besiege your castle with all my forces,
So defend well your castle and give us no peace."

For three months Vidín is blockaded.

Pasván-oglu secretly advises Alý to keep his troops out of the range of fire, but Alý refuses; and again recommends him to hold out, if he wishes to save his head, and not to trust even his own mother; meantime, writes a petition to the Porte in favour of the rebellious chieftain, representing his penitence, zeal, and bravery, and advising his being sent to fight against the real enemies of Turkey.

Rosa passes over to Ioánnina, explains to the Archons Bonaparte's designs for delivering the Greeks, and tries to form a party among them[1]. But the Archons rejecting his overtures, he returns to Corfú, sends 3000 French troops to Prévyza, where they

[1] At this time the French Egyptian armament was at Malta, and Bonaparte had published his celebrated manifesto to the Greeks.

are received with great joy, and 1000 to the Vivári (Vutzindró), and endeavours by his agents to excite the Greeks to insurrection.

Mukhtár causes a report to be spread that Alý Pashá is about to return, and the Tzamídhes close their ports (*σκαλώματα*) against the French; upon which the French send an insolent remonstrance to them, and advise them not to resist the arms of that nation, which had conquered Arabia (Egypt) and all the deserts.

ποῦ ζάπωσε τὴν 'Αραπιὰ κιόλο τὸ τζολοστάνι.

They reply in a high tone,—

ὅλοι οἱ Φραντζέζοι νάρθουνε καὶ τὰ ἑπτά ῥηγάτα
ἂν ἔλθουν στὴν 'Αρβανιτιὰ ποτὲ δὲν βρίσκουν στράτα.

"Let all the French come, and the seven kingdoms;
Let them come into Albania: they will never find a road there[1]."

In great alarm, however, they apply to Ioánnina for council and aid; upon which Mukhtár Pashá and the Despot (metropolitan bishop) of Grevená write to Alý to acquaint him that Parga and Prévyza are in a state of insurrection, and that even at Arta many Greeks have assumed the French cockade[2].

Alý transmits the intelligence to Constantinople, from whence he receives directions to return to Ioánnina to fortify that place, and to chastize Prévyza.

Ordering a large body of troops to follow him, he performs a month's journey in ten days, enters Ioánnina secretly, has an interview with his two sons and Yussúf the Black, and, having left orders with them for throwing an entrenchment round the city, he mounts his horse for Filiátes, from whence he sends over to Corfú requesting a meeting with General Rosa, whom he reminds of their interview of the preceding year, with the assurance that he is ready to adhere to what was then agreed upon. He adds, that it was the Sultán's intentions in sending him to Vidín to

[1] A common boast of the Albanians.

[2] This is said to have been a manœuvre of Alý, in order to ascertain the extent of the Greek defection, as well as to furnish a plausible ground for requesting the Porte to put an end to the war with Pasván-oglu, or at least to allow Alý himself to return home.

destroy him; that the Turks had attacked and massacred his Albanians; that he had effected his escape by the assistance of two friends, but that the Turks were in close pursuit of him; finally, requesting Rosa to afford him refuge, to send troops to occupy Ioánnina, and to come over himself to Filiátes instead of Hexamíli (where they had met before), because near the latter place his subjects are in rebellion against him.

Rosa, upon receiving this letter, flatters himself that he has got Alý into his power, and crosses over immediately to Tzamuriá.

Alý begins by dissembling and affecting great humility (*ἐγίνηκε μικρότερος*); but soon changes his tone; inquires whether it is true that Bonaparte has disembarked in Egypt (*βγῆκε στὸ Μισήρι*); reproaches Rosa with his deceit (*γιατήσαι ψεύστης φίλεμου*); asks him where are the promised 20,000 purses; why he sent troops to Prévyza and the Vivári; why the two vessels which had been presented to him were taken away again; and ends by sending him to Ioánnina as a present (*πισκέσι*) to his son Mukhtár Pashá, who gives him over to the Bulu-báshi (*Μπλοῦμπαση*) to be imprisoned. The poet then breaks out into a strain of true Musulman insolence against the fallen Frank.

War being declared against the French, Alý sends troops to the Vivári, orders Mukhtár Pashá to meet him with his forces at Luro, writes to the Prévyzans that he has a firmáhn of the Porte to make them Rayás, and orders them to deliver up the French troops to him: promising that if they do so, and submit to pay the Kharátj, they shall be left in their town, and no Turk shall live there.

He observes,—

κεφάλι καὶ δὲν κόβεται ποτὲ προσκυνημένο.

"The submitted head is never cut off."

Otherwise,—

τὶ τὸ δικόμου τὸ σπαθὶ ραγιάδες δὲν λυπᾶται,
καὶ σκλάβοι στὴν Ἀρβανιτιὰ ὅλοισας θὲ νὰ πᾶτε.

"My sword has no compassion for Rayás:
You shall be made slaves, and sent away into Albania."

The Prévyzans, nevertheless, return an answer of defiance, trusting in great measure to the assistance of Suli.

κείνη τὴν ὥρα ἤρθανε οἱ σκοτεινοὶ Σουλιώταις
καὶ τοῦ ἔπιασαν ταῖς δημοσιαῖς ταῖς στράταις καὶ ταῖς πόρταις.

"At that time came the crafty Suliotes
And seized the highways and the passes."

εἶχε ἕνα φίλο 'Αλῆ Πασιᾶς καὶ τοῦ δοσε χαμπέρι,
Κακοσουλιώταις σοῦκαμαν ἕνα μέγα καρτέρι.

"(But) Alý Pashá had a friend, who gave him the intelligence
That the Kako Suliotes were making a great ambuscade."

He advances, and orders Mukhtár, with 1000 men, to attack the left of the enemy's position at Paleókastro *(Nicopolis)*, while he himself occupies, with the remaining forces, a height opposite to the enemy's right.

οἱ Φράγκοι τὸ Παλιόκαστρον μὲ τόπια τὸ εἶχαν κλείσῃ
Φράγκοι καὶ κλέπταις καὶ ῥαγιᾶς τὸ κάστρο τὸ εἶχαν κλείσῃ
καὶ βάνουν στό παλιόκαστρο τόπια καὶ κουμπαράδες.

"The Franks the Paliókastro with guns had surrounded;
Franks, and robbers, and the Rayá [1], the castle had enclosed:
They put cannons and mortars into the Paliókastro."

They believe that Alý Pashá has 5000 men, but his whole force is only 1600 horse and foot (*καβάλα καὶ πεζούρα*).

Mukhtár having met with some resistance, his father advances to his aid. They soon carry the Paleókastro, and put every man found in it to the sword. From thence they advance to the town of Prévyza, where Alý shows no mercy.

'Αλῆ Πασιᾶς στὴν Πρέβεζα τέτοιο νιζάμι δίνει·
κόβει κορμιὰ, πέρνει ψυχαῖς, δὲν κάμνει λεημοσύνη,
περίσιαις σκλάβαις ἔπηραν κορίτζια καὶ νυφάδες,
καὶ στέλνει στὴν 'Αρβανιτιὰ ἀμέτρηταις χιλιάδες·
πολλαῖς μανάδες χώρισαν ἀπό τούς πατεράδες
καὶ ταῖς πουλοῦν στά Γιάνενα ὡσὰν τοὺς 'Αραπάδες.

"Such is the manner in which Alý Pashá orders Prévyza:
He cuts bodies, takes away souls, and gives no mercy,
They took many girls and young married women;

[1] The Franks were French; the robbers, the rebellious Greek mountaineers who had joined the French; by the Rayá the poet means the Prevyzans.

And he sends unnumbered thousands into Albania.
Many mothers they separated from fathers,
And sold them at Ioánnina like negro slaves."

Some of the French embarked, and attempted to escape by sea, but were drowned on the shallows.

καὶ ἡ κλεφτουριὰ τῆς Ῥούμελης ὅσοι ἤρθανε καὶ μπῆκαν
σὰν τὰ σφακτὰ στὸ χασαπιὸ στὰ ζῶντατους γδαρθῆκαν.

"The robbers of Rumilí, who came and entered Prévyza,
Were flayed alive, like cattle at the butchery."

1000 heads[1] are sent to Constantinople, and 300 French prisoners, with Rosa to command them (*νὰ τοῦς κούμανταρίση*).

Having left a garrison in Prévyza, Alý returns to Ioánnina, where he is saluted by the titles of Mubarék and Ghazí (fortunate and victorious), and receives from the Porte the third horse-tail, the sword, and kaftán (robe of honour), with orders to attend to the defence of his own government, to construct a fortress at Ioánnina, and to assist Kadrí Bey, whose squadron is sent against Corfú.

Aghía Mavra, Vónitza, and Parga, dreading the fate of Pré-

[1] The 1000 heads is a poetical amplification. Of 175 inhabitants of Prévyza, who were taken in the place and accused of having abetted the French, three only were saved. The heads of the Prevyzans, and those of the Greeks and French killed at *Nicopolis*, amounting to 300, were sent to Constantinople. By heads is to be understood the skins only, which are stuffed with straw and moistened before they are presented to the Grand Vezír. The property of many of the Prevyzans who took no active part in the war was seized by Alý, on pretence of their having aided the French, their lands given to Albanians, and their families sent to cultivate some waste but fertile lands on the borders of the Ambracic Gulf, where the Pashá built huts and formed tjiftlíks. The poet has been silent as to the aid afforded to Alý on this occasion by his old adversary Hassán Tzapári, and the other Tzámidhes, many of whom were Christians. Some of these seized and carried with them into Tzamuriá, as a great prize, a *thaumaturgous* picture of St. Kharálambo (Ἅγιος Χαράλαμπος), the patron of Prévyza. The priests of his church made large offers to obtain its restoration, but without success; and the subsequent misfortunes of Prévyza, particularly the alienation of the lands, and the building of a mosque, were generally attributed by the Prevyzans, particularly by the priests and women, to the loss of the protecting picture.

vyza, petition Kadrí Bey, that Alý may not be permitted to molest them. By his mediation they are left in tranquillity.

ἐπῆγε πέρα στοὺς Κορφοὺς ἡ Τουρκικὴ ἀρμάτα
καὶ τοῦ Φραντζέζου τοῦ δωκαν τὴ σκοτεινὴ τὴ στράτα,
καὶ ἀπομείναν οἱ Κορφοὶ σὰν ἦταν μαθημένοι
πῶς ἦταν στὸν παλιὸ καιρὸ στὸ βασιλιᾶ γραμμένοι.

"The Turkish fleet went over to Corfú [1],
And gave the dark road to the Frenchman;
And Corfú remained as it was formerly accustomed to be,
As it was in the ancient time written with[2] the king."

ὁ Βεζίρης (the Vezír)[3] now prepares to attack Κακοσούλι, moves from Ioánnina, takes Lipa[4], and blockades Suli on every side, which alarms the Tzámidhes and Ibrahím Pashá of Berát so much, that an alliance is formed, consisting of Ibrahím, Mustafá Pashá, Selím Bey of Délvino, Mahmút Daliáni of Konísboli, Premedí, and the districts of Dagho and Parakálamo in Tzamuriá.

ἀκόμι ἐπροβόδισε χαρτιὰ στὸ Κακοσούλι
ἐφέτο τούτη τὴ χρονιὰ ἕνα νὰ γενωμούλοι[5].

"(Ibrahím) sent also letters to Kakosúli:
Let us this year become one."

And among other things, observes to the allies,—

πρῶτα στὸ Σούλι πολεμᾶ ταγγίστριτου νὰ ῥίξῃ
καὶ ὕστερα τὴν Τζαμουργιὰ στὴ λίμνη νὰ τὴν πνίξῃ
τιράγει καὶ στὸ Ντέλβινο νὰ βάνῃ τὸ ποδάρι
ν' ἁπλώσῃ καὶ τὸ χέριτου τὴ Βλόρα νὰ μοῦ πάρῃ.

[1] Not a word is here said of the Russian armament, without which the Turkish would have had little hope of reducing the Seven Islands.

[2] A common expression in Turkish for *subjects*. By the treaty of 1800, establishing the Septinsular Republic, an annual tribute was to be paid to the Porte.

[3] By the third tail Alý obtained this rank.

[4] Λῆπα, one of the chief villages of the Suliote confederacy, in the mountains between Suli and Ioánnina.

[5] *γένωμεν* ὅλοι.

"First, upon Suli he labours to throw his hook,
And afterwards Tzamuriá to drown in the lake[1].
He looks into Délvino to set his foot,
To stretch out his hand, and take Vlióra from me."

He hints also at Alý's great credit at the Porte.

τὶ τώρα ζύγωσε πολὺ ἀπάνω στὸ ντοβλέτι
καὶ μᾶς ποτίζει σήμερα φαρμακερὸ σερμπέτι.

"For he has much weight aloft at the government,
And this day gives us a poisonous sherbet to drink."

The (Mahometan) chiefs of Tzamuriá and Dárvano[2], who unite with Ibrahím, make peace with the Suliotes who send hostages to Délvino. But the allies endeavour in vain to gain over Mahmúd Sekhmét, commander of the Castle of Délvino; they blockade him therefore with troops from Konispoli, Sulátes, Gardhíki, and Dárvano. At the end of two months Mahmúd capitulates, on condition of retiring to Nívitza, when they burn all his houses, and those of his adherents at Délvino.

The Vezír divides his forces into three parts, one is left before Suli, another is sent into Tzamuriá, the third against Délvino: Velý Pashá is sent against Ibrahím.

στὸν πεθερότου θὲ νὰ πάῃ καίχει ντροπὴ μεγάλη.
ὡς τόσο δύο δὲν γίνεται ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρόστου
καὶ θὲ νὰ πάῃ ἀπάνωτου ἂς ἦν καὶ πεθερόστου.

"He will go against his father-in-law though he has great shame *(very reluctantly)*;
But his father's word does not become two *(is not to be contradicted)*,
And he must go against him, though he be his father-in-law."

Velý marches to Kónitza, where, not finding any symptoms of opposition, he falls upon the villages of Bála, and moves forward to Tóziani, where Ibrahím's troops had shut themselves

[1] Drowning in the lake was so common a punishment at Ioánnina that it became a figure of speech.

[2] The country northward of Parakálamo comprising Délvino.

up. He refuses their request of being allowed to retire unmolested, unless they give up their arms; they resolve to resist. Velý enters the place sword in hand. Some of Ibrahím's troops escape, and some are slain or taken. Among the prisoners are found the tevábs, or securities of the Suliote alliance, who had deserted from Ioánnina. These are put to death to the number of fifty-two.

Ibrahím sends a submissive message to his son-in law, who at first refuses all accommodation, but afterwards consents to evacuate Tóziani, on the condition that Ibrahím abandons his alliance with Délvino and Suli. Meantime, Alý has received the appointment of Rumilí Válesi, with orders to proceed against the Haidé [1]. He forwards the news to his son—

'Αλῆ Πασιᾶς *προβόδισε χαμπέρι τοῦ* Βελίκου [2].

And orders him to make peace with Ibrahím and return to Ioánnina.

He then sends reinforcements to Mahmúd Sekhmét Agá at Nívitza, and directs him to demand the keys of the castle of Délvino from the Gardhikiotes, who occupied it, allowing them to depart unmolested on the condition of delivering up to Alý the Suliote hostages, who were also in the castle, and two of whom were men of note.

The Gardhikiotes comply. Alý then sends Málio Metzo [3] to command at Délvino, and takes Sekhmét with him into Rumilí, where he is directed by the Porte to put all things in order as far as Adrianople, and to proceed, sword in hand, against Osmán Pashá, the Georgian, who with the Haidé is opposing Akí Pashá near Adrianople.

The Vezír collects his troops at Buníla [4], (*Μπουνίλα,*) leaves

[1] Haidé, or Haitalí, here written *χάϊντες* and *αϊνταλίδες* is the name given by the Turks to the rebellious inhabitants of the mountains on either side of the valley of the Hebrus, who in union generally with some Albanian adventurers, have often disturbed the tranquillity of Rumilí, and rendered the roads insecure.

[2] Βελίκος, the *χαϊδευτικὸν*, or term of endearment for Velý.

[3] Otherwise called Metzobóno, an Albanian officer in great favour with Aly.

[4] A tjiftlík, and military depôt, two miles south of Ioánnina.

Mukhtár in command at Ioánnina, and moves out of the town in state.

δεξιὰ στέκονται σέχιδες, ζερβὰ οἱ ἀφεντάδες,
διαβάζοντας τὸ ἀλκουρὰν καὶ μὲ πολλοὺς ντοβάδες,
νά πάῃ καλὰ στὴ Ῥούμελη καὶ πίσω νὰ γυρίσῃ.

* * *

καὶ τρέχανε ἀπὸ κοντὰ σπαΐδες καὶ ἀγάδες,
πέρασε ἀπ' τὰ Γρεβενὰ καὶ πάει στὸ Μοναστήρι,
ἄνδρες γυναῖκες βγήκανε νὰ ἰδοῦνε τὸν βεζίρη.

"On his right hand stand the Sheikhs, on the left the Efféndis [1],
Reading the Alkorán with many prayers,
That he may have success in Rumilí and return home.

* * *

Spahís and Agás ran beside him:
He passed by Grevená to Monastír:
Men and women came out to see the Vezír."

From Monastír he sends a threatening message to two rebel chiefs who were at the head of 12,000 men.

Χαλίλι καὶ Χαραφεϊζῆ στὴν κόρδαμου σᾶς βάνω,
πρέπει νὰ προσκυνήσετε πρὸ τοῦ νὰ χαλασθῆτε,
τὶ ἄλλο τζαρὲ δὲν ἔχετε στὰ χέριαμου θὰ μπῆτε.

"Khalíl and Karafeïzí [2], I will place you in my bow-string:
You must make the act of submission that you may not be ruined;
For you have no other means, but must fall into my hands."

They reply, that they wish to find some good opportunity of submitting, (*νὰ προσκυνήσουν*,) upon which Alý moves from Monastír, pitches his camp at Sófia, accepts the submission of

[1] *ἀφεντάδες*—Efféndis. This is one of the few words of Greek origin which have been naturalized among the Turks, who, in this instance as in general, soften the sound of their borrowed words; the Greeks still say *αὐθέντη*, or *ἀφέντη*, for master, lord.

[2] Karafeïzí, (black-cap,) an Albanian freebooter, whose real name the poet has not given.

the two chieftains, and proceeds to Felibé, (Philippopolis,) and summons Tjurtjí Osmán, who was at the head of 42,000 men. As 10,000 of these were under Abd-ul-Tjámi, (*Αὐτουλτζάμι*,) and 12,000 under Muslí-Gkeka, (*Μουσληγκέκα*,) both Albanians, as their names indicate, Alý endeavours to gain them over. They agree to plunder the Tjurtjí Pashá, on the pretext of his being indebted to them for the pay of their troops [1], and having effected this design they offer themselves to Alý Pashá; but Muslí, who had carried his depredations almost to Constantinople, and had been denounced by a special fermáhn from the Sultán, having learnt on his arrival at Felibé that Alý intended to put him to death—

σὰν τὸ πετούμενο πουλὶ ξαπέταξε μὲ τάτι
νὰ πάῃ νὰ βρῇ τὴν τέχνητου καὶ τὸ παλιὸ ζανάτι.

"Like a winged bird fled with his horse,
To go and find his art and his old profession—*(that of a robber)*.

A few of his comrades accompany him; but Alý, having sent 600 men in pursuit of the fugitives, an engagement ensues, in which Muslí, receiving a wound, falls from his horse, and is taken with 200 of those Aintalídhes who had ruined the world (*ποῦ εἶχαν χαλάση τὸν ντουνιά.*)

Alý beheads Muslí, and sends his head to Constantinople, receives submission and hostages from the villages, as securities against the re-appearance of the robbers; and then, having obtained permission from the Porte to return to Ioánnina—

καὶ κάθισε στὸ πόστιτου καὶ κάνει τὸ σεφάτου.

"Sits down in his post, and takes his pleasure."

The remainder of the poem relates to the capture of Suli, but as these transactions will be found more at length in the abstract from the history of Suli and Parga, which forms the subject of the Additional Note to Chapter V., it will be sufficient to add a few of the passages in which the Mahometan poet has represented matters

[1] It is common among the Albanian mercenaries thus to desert the chief with whom they have engaged themselves: on the allegation, often well founded, of a failure in the regular payment of their lufé, or pay.

rather differently from the Christian historian. The Suliotes, hearing of the Vezír's return, collect their scattered forces. They reflect that they have no longer any hopes of assistance from Délvino or Berát; and that the Vezír has so many securities from Prónio and Tzapári in his hands, that these chieftains cannot be expected to move in favour of Suli.

τοὺς ἔδεσε πατοκορφὴ καὶ τώρα δὲν τρομοῦνε,
φοβοῦνται τὰ κεφάλιατους καὶ τώρα δὲ βοηθοῦνε,
τάχει πιασμένα 'Αλῆ Πασιᾶς τά συνοράμας οὔλα
ὅπου εἶναι τύπος σέρπικος ἔχει φτιασμένη κούλα.

"He has bound them foot and head:
They fear for their heads, and now they will not assist.
Alý Pashá has taken all our frontiers;
Wherever there is a difficult place he has built a tower."

Kitzo Bótzari[1], (*Κίτζος Μπότζαρης,*) one of the chiefs of Suli, was living at Ioánnina, in a state of pretended submission to the Vezír, but secretly corresponding with his countrymen. In reply to their requisitions for a supply of lead and gunpowder, he informs them that the Archons of Ioánnina have promised him to supply these essentials, and at the same time exhorts them to be vigilant, as Alý's camp is ready, and he is bent on their destruction. From Parga they receive assurances of support, with offers of asylum, in case of disaster; and they are joined by sixty-four Christians of Tzamuriá, with their women and children, and with a large supply of provisions.

"The robbers also assembled to defend Suli."

καὶ ἡ κλεφτουριά[2] *μαζώχθηκε στὸ Σούλι νά κλεισθοῦνε.*

[1] *Κίτζος*, the *χαϊδευτικὸν* of *Χρίστος*. Soon after the capture of Prévyza, George Bótzari, the father of Kitzo, thinking the affairs of the confederacy in a desperate state, accepted a sum of money from Alý, and deserted with all his tribe. The Vezír gave them Vurgaréli, a village in the district of Tzumérka, for their residence; but obliged Kitzo, the eldest son of George, to reside under his own eye at Ioánnina, as a security for the peaceable conduct of the rest of the tribe. George Bótzari did not live long after his desertion; and Kitzo, at the time mentioned in the poem, was the head of the house.

[2] *ἡ κλεφτουριά*, means robbery collectively, or the life of a robber, or the country occupied by robbers: *ἔφυγε στὴν κλεφτουριάν*—

A resolution is taken to destroy the Pashá's Kules before he can arrive with his main body.

While Khoto Metzikráni, (Χότος Μετζικράνι,) an Albanian, who commanded one of those towers, is waiting with fifty men to intercept 2000 kuvélia of flour going to Suli, the Suliotes send their convoy by another road, and marching to the Kula destroy it.

The Vezír now summons troops in the name of the Porte from Berát, Délvino, Dagho, and Parakálamo, orders the Agás of Margaríti and Paramythía to seize Frari, (Φράρι[1],) receives from Mustafá Pashá of Délvino his eldest son as a hostage, collects his forces at Buníla, and gives the conduct of the expedition to his son Velý, whom he instructs first to take the town of Suli, from thence to proceed against the wild mountains, (*τὰ ἄγρια τὰ βουνὰ*[2],) and then, if the enemy should be willing to evacuate the place without battle, to allow them to retire unmolested to the islands.

ἂς πάνε μέσα στὴν Φραγγιὰ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ παιδιάτους,
ἂς πάνε πέρα στοὺς Κορφοὺς καὶ δὼ νὰ μὴ σταθοῦνε,
νὰ θυμηθοῦν τὸν τόποτους ὅσον καιρὸν καὶ ἂν ζοῦνε,
νὰ βλέπουνε τὸν τόποτους νὰ καίεται ἡ καρδιάτους,
ταγρίμια νὰ γυρίζουνε στὰ κρύα τὰ νεράτους.

" Let them go into Franghiá, they and their children;
Let them pass over to Corfú; let them not remain here;
Let them think of their place (native country) as long as they live;
Let them behold their place (at a distance), and let their hearts burn
To turn the wild animals at their cold waters[3]."

" He has fled and become a robber" —a phrase in common use will best explain the force of this Romaic substantive.

[1] In Greek Fanári. This fine plain was the chief support of Suli, and was in its line of communication with the sea-coast and Parga.

[2] Meaning the ridges of Trypa and Aghía Paraskeví.

[3] This was precisely what happened: the Suliote exiles at Corfú never ceased to regret their wild mountains; and often took an opportunity of indulging in a distant sight of Suli, the only consolation that was left to them. The allusion in the last line to the chace is explained by the custom among the mountaineers of Greece, of lying

Velý takes leave of his father, and receives the public prayers of Sheikh Yusúf. The Christians of Tzamuriá on their side fast forty days, offer prayers, and make incantations for the success of the Suliotes.

καὶ οἱ χριστιανοὶ τῆς Τζαμουργιᾶς ἐμαζωχθῆκαν ὅλοι
καὶ τὸ θεὸ παρακαλοῦν νὰ μὴ παρθῆ τὸ Σούλι
καὶ λέγουν Παναγίαμου γλύτοστο τὸ καϊμένο.
* * *
λανάρια καὶ σιδηροστιαῖς πέρνουν καὶ ἀνακατώνουν
ἔτζι μαντίβουν τὸν πασιᾶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸν καρφώνουν.

" The Christians of Tzamuriá were all collected together,
And pray to God that Suli may not be taken;
And they say, Oh my Panaghiá, save the unfortunate place.
* * *
Carding combs and trivets for cooking vessels they take and turn upside down,
So they bewitch the Pashá and nail him[1]."

The Greeks (*ὅλη ἡ Ῥωμιοσύνη*) set apart a day for general prayer for the safety of Suli. Alý has many traitors in his camp, but they cannot move because he has their sons as hostages. The Suliotes, learning the approach of Velý towards their town, lie in ambuscade in a church, which they had fortified. While waiting the enemy they pray.

βόηθα Χριστὲ καὶ Παναγιὰ τὸν δρόμο νὰ τοῦ κλείσῃς
καὶ μονοπάτι πουθενὰ τοῦ Τούρκου μὴν ἀφήσῃς,
βόηθα Χριστὲ καὶ Παναγιὰ τὸ μαυρισμένο Σούλι
φλωρένια νὰ τὴν κάμουνε τὴν ἐκκλησιάσου ὅλη.

" Assist, Christ and Panaghía, to shut up his road,
And leave not any where a path for the Turk;
Assist, Christ and Panaghía, the unfortunate Suli,
So shall they make your church all golden."

Velý however arrives in such force, that they do not even fire

in wait for the deer, roe-bucks, swine, and other wild animals of the mountains, at the springs and rivulets: especially in summer, when water is to be found only in a few places.

[1] The Musulman poet has a lash here at the Greek superstitions:—making use of their exact words.

a shot, and he proceeds to occupy Serekháti, and great Suli, leaving in his rear the Suliotes in the church.

Driven out of their villages, the Suliotes, retire to the ridge in four bodies.

καὶ εὐθὺς μπουλούκια τέσσαρα ἔγιναν οἱ καϋμένοι
καὶ πῆραν τάγρια τὰ βουνὰ σὰν ἦταν μαθημένοι.

One of these was at Kiáfa, one at Kugni (Χόνι), the third at Τρύπα.

τάλλο μπουλούκι πάγησε στὰ Κούκια νὰ κλειστοῦνε
σὰν τὸν Ἐγκλέζο στὸ γιαλὸ στὰ ζῶντα θὰ καγοῦνε.

"The fourth division went and shut themselves in Kúkia,
To be burnt alive, like the Englishman at sea[1]."

Velý Pashá converts the church at Suli into a mosque. His father sends him a thousand masons to build a castle there.

Messengers from the Suliotes go to Tzikuráti to Hassán Agá Tzapári, to entreat his assistance in obtaining favourable terms from the Vezír.

Hassán laments his want of influence,—that Alý retains his sons as hostages, has seized upon Fanári, and will perhaps collect the Kharátj even in Tzamuriá;—advises the Suliotes to submit, and offers in that case to intercede, but fears that it will be of little avail to them.

Foto Tzavéla, with a deputation of Suliotes, appears before Velý Pashá, and asks permission to depart to whatever place he thinks fit.

But the monk (ὁ Καλόγερος), *i. e.* Papa Samuel, refuses to join in this compromise, and persuades 500 men to join him in defending Kúkia to the last.

The Kalógheros (according to the poet) had many sins to answer for.

[1] Alluding to the catastrophe of Papa Samuel. "Like the Englishman at sea," is a proverbial Greek expression, derived from the fact of an Englishman who blew up his ship to avoid falling into the hands of a Barbaresque. The Albanians are the more likely to admire such an act, as they are very bad seamen, and seem totally out of their element when they are embarked, often showing a degree of fear, very singular in men so brave and hardy in general.

εἶχε ἁμαρτίας ὁ πικρὸς ἀπο τὰ γονικάτου
καὶ καίγουνταν βουρκόλακας στὰ γερονταματάτου
* * *
κλείσου τοῦ λέγει ὄμορφα καὶ κάμε τὸ σεφᾶσου
νὰ κρένουνε καλόγηρε στὸν κόσμο τονομάσου·
ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ προσκύνησαν πολλοὶ θὰ μετανιώσουν
καὶ σένα μπρὲ καλόγερε συχώρια νὰ σοῦ δώσουν·
ἔτζι τοῦ λέγει ὁ δαίμονας ὑποῦχει στὴν κοιλιάτου
νὰ διώξῃ τὸν Ἀλῆ Πασιᾶ μὲ τὴν παλικαριάτου.

" He inherited sins, the bitter man, from his parents,
And burnt a Vrukólakas[1] in his old age.
* * *
Shut yourself up in the castle, (says the Devil,) and take your pleasure,
Monk, that they may talk of your name in the world;
Those who have offered submission will greatly repent,
And will approve of what you have done, friend monk;
Thus speaks the dæmon, which he has in his belly,
(And which prompts him) to drive away Alý Pashá with his bravery."

Velý Pashá's troops, who are tired of the war, are happy to hear of the proposal of the Suliotes. Alý comes to Suli, approves highly of his son's proceedings, and receives Foto Tzavéla (Φώτος Τζαβέλας), or Foti (Φώτης), as the poet sometimes calls him, who kisses the Vezír's foot.

Ἀλῆ Πασιᾶς ἐγύρισε καὶ ἐχαΐδεψε τὸ Φώτη,
καὶ τίραξε τοῦ εἶπε καλὰ τὶ γὼ σοῦ καίω τὸ σκότι,
καὶ τοῦ εἶπε σύρε γλήγορα νὰ τοὺς εἰπῆς νὰ βγοῦνε
τὶ τὸ δικόμου τὸ σπαθὶ θὲ νὰ τὸ θυμηθοῦνε.

" Alý Pashá turned round and caressed Foto,
And look well to it, he said, for I will burn your liver[2];

[1] In the year 1700, Tournefort was an eye-witness of the burning of a Vrukólaka; the body of the deceased person, who was suspected of rising out of his grave to torment the living, was cut in pieces by a priest and burnt.—Voyage au Levant, tome i. lettre 3. Though such instances of superstition are now very rare, the word Vrukólaka (derived from the Illyric) is in common use to signify a ghost.

[2] This χαΐδευμα is quite in character.

And, said he, return quickly and bid them come out,
Or my sword they shall remember."

The Suliotes hesitating, Foto proposes to bring away his own followers; tells the Vezír that the others must then follow, and accuses Kitzo Bótzari of dissuading them from accepting the Vezír's proposition.

The Vezír promises that those who quit the place that day shall not be molested, but that those who remain till the morrow shall be made slaves, and answerable for the expences in the war.

Foto exerts himself to bring about the evacuation, because his wife is a hostage at Ioánnina. He leads the way with his own tribe, and to all those who followed him the Pashá opened the road (*τὸν δρόμοντους τὸν ἄνοιξε*): the others became slaves, men, women, and children.

ἄνδρες γυναῖκες καὶ παιδιὰ ὅλοι ἐσκλαβωθῆκαν.

But Alý still refuses to release Foto's wife until Foto had consented to destroy the Kalóghero by secretly applying a match to the powder magazine at Kúkia.

ἀλλιὼς καϊμένε χριστιανὲ ἐγὼ σοῦ δὲν τὴν δίνω,
τὴν ῥίχνω στὸ μουτπάκιμου, νὰ σοῦ τὸ εἰπῶ καὶ κεῖνο,
κρατῶ γὼ τὴ γυναῖκασου μαζὶ καὶ τὰ παιδιάσου,
καὶ δὲν τὰ λέπουνε ποτὲ τὰ μάτια τὰ δικάσου.

"Otherwise, wretched Christian, I will not give her to you;
I will throw her into my mutbák, that she may work like a slave.
I will keep your wife together with your children,
And your eyes shall never behold them."

Foto replies,

καὶ τοῦ εἶπε ἀμὰν ἐφέντημου τούτη δουλιὰ τὴν κάνω,
γιὰ τὸ χρυσόσου τόνομα νὰ πάγω νὰ ἀποθάνω.

"Mercy, my lord, said he, this service I will perform;
I will go and die for your golden name."

Foto then approaches Kúkia, and, in a secret conversation with the Papás, endeavours to persuade him that there is no possibility of resisting the Vezír, and no hope for him but in submission.

The priest consents to depart, provided he has permission to sell the contents of his powder magazine, in order to fill which he had parted with all his property in the beginning of the blockade. Foto engages that the Pashá himself shall purchase it. In consequence of a dream, the Papás desires that the son of Papá Iánni of Sopikí may be sent to him as a security, as well as to weigh and take account of the powder.

The son of Papá Iánni is sent by the Pashá accordingly, together with Foto, and while the priest with many others are assembled in the magazine round the young Sopikiote, Foto applies a match to a train of powder, and the magazine exploding, destroys all that were within it[1].

ὅσηταν στὸν καλόγερο καθόλου δὲν φανῆκαν
ὅλος ὁ τόπος γύρισε, βουνὰ ξεριζωθῆκαν,
καὶ τά χορτάρια τῆς γῆς καὶ κεῖνα μαραθῆκαν.

"Those who were with the monk appeared no more:
All the place was turned upside down; the mountains were unrooted,
And the plants of the earth were withered."

The Vezír then takes possession of Kúkia, when all its defenders who remain alive are, according to his former vow, made answerable for his expences, and sold for slaves. He then restores to Foto his wife, and makes him a present also of ten Suliote families, upon which Foto loses no time in proceeding to Parga, without taking leave of the Vezír, and then passes over with the Suliotes to the islands.

The Vezír sends for Papá Iánni, and a conversation ensues in which the Pashá, endeavouring to console him, says,

τίταν γραφτὸ γιὰ νὰ καῇ στὸ Σούλι τὸ παιδίσου.

"For it was written, that your son should burn at Suli."

And, among other things, adds,

καὶ κεῖνος ποῦβαλε φωτιὰ θέλω τόνε σκοτώσω
κιαναγαπᾶς στὰ χέριασου νὰ τὸν ἐπαραιδώσω,
τὶ τὸ δικόσου τὸ παιδὶ νὰ ξέρῃς τὸν λυποῦμαι,
μαραίνεται ἡ καρδούλαμου ὄντες ποῦ τὸν θυμοῦμαι.

[1] I have before remarked that the Suliotes and their friends relate the story differently.

"And he that put the fire I will slay him;
And, if you wish, into your hands I will deliver him;
For know that I grieve for your son,
My heart withers when I think of him."

The Vezír then places a thousand men in Kiáfa:

χίλιους νομάτους ἔστειλε στὴν Κιάφα νὰ καθίσουν.

as many in Kúkia, and as many in Kugni[1]; takes possession of Fanári, and returns to Ioánnina.

A Dervish having remonstrated with the Vezír on the practice among the Christians of wearing fine cloth, dulamás of velvet and gold, and green dresses, so that at Ioánnina he could not distinguish a Turk from a Greek[2].

Τοῦρκος Ῥωμιὸς στὰ Γιάνενα δὲν μπορακάμω φάρκι.

Alý issues a proclamation commanding the Rayás to wear dark-coloured dresses, forbidding velvet, and threatening to throw those who wear green cloth or yellow slippers into the lake.

The Archons (οἱ Ἄρχοντες στὰ Γίανενα), afraid of the sack (τὸ τζουβάλι), *i. e.* afraid of being drowned, shut themselves up in their houses and change their dresses, and lament that now, for the first time, they suffer this disgrace.

Kitzo Bótzari still remained with the Vezír, who had built a house for him, and had given him a village for his support, but hearing that he was accused of having encouraged the Suliotes not to submit, and of having assisted in supplying them with ammunition, he retires into a monastery in the district of Tzumérka, but at the same time desires his friends to intercede for him at Ioánnina.

[1] Probably two or three hundred in each, for most of the poet's numbers will bear a similar deduction.

[2] The Dervishes seldom lose a good opportunity of rousing the religious bigotry of the Turks against the Christians, and Alý, though careless himself of such matters as the dress of the Rayás, could not avoid conforming occasionally to Musulman prejudices. The Greeks being fond of adorning their persons, are very sensible to such a measure as is here described; but in the present instance they took advantage of the order, and represented it as a mourning for the loss of Suli.

νὰ βγῆτε στὸν ἀφέντη μου νὰ πιάστε τὴν ποδιάτου.

"To go to the Lord, and take hold of his foot."

But on learning from his intercessors (*ριτζάλια*) that the Vezír asserted, that on the capture of Suli some of Kitzo's letters had fallen into his hands, Kitzo sends for assistance :—

στοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς Σουλιώταις
ποῦ ἦταν κρυμμένοι στὰ χωριὰ σὰν μαραμέναις κότας.

"to the other Suliotes,
Who were hidden in the villages like pining hens."

He requests of them lead and gunpowder, and adds,

ἀκόμι τώρα χριστιανοὶ ἀνίσως καὶ γλυτώσω
τὸ μοναστήρι βέβαια θέλω νάντα σιμώσω.

"And now if I yet escape, Christians,
Truly I will purchase this monastery."

σὰν ἔστειλε τῶν χριστιανῶν τέτοιας λογῆς χαμπέρια
τοῦ κουβαλοῦνε ζαχερὲ τὴν νύκτα μὲ τὰ στέρια
ἀπὸ Ζαμπάντι τοῦ στειλαν νὰ ξέρῃς σὲ βουθοῦμε.

"When he sent the Christians this intelligence
They transport ammunition by night with the stars :
They sent from Zabandi to say they would assist."

Several captains (Καπετάνιδες πολλοὶ) enter the monastery to assist Kitzo with the musquet (*μὲ τὸ τουφέκι*), as well as all the Suliotes, who were lying concealed (*κρυμένοι ἀπὸ τὸν Βεζίρην*). The rest assemble in the churches and pray for success. Twelve hundred men are collected in the convent.

Here the poem concludes abruptly ; the poet having been appointed by the Vezír to some employment in Rumilí. He takes the opportunity of lauding the power of Alý, of whose wonderful acts he has only related a tenth ; whose castles and tjiftliks are numberless as the sands, and astonish the world.

τὰ κάστρα καὶ ἡ παλάγγαις τόυ στὴ γῆς τὴν οἰκουμένην
τὰ βλέπουν ὅλος ὁ ντουνιὰς καὶ στέκουν θαμπωμένοι.

The following are some of the concluding lines by which we learn the poet's name, and that of his scribe :

και τώρα ἀποφάσισα νὰ σώσω τὴν φυλάδα

* * * * * *

να μάθετε τὸν τόπομου καὶ μὲν καὶ γονικάμου
στὸ Ντέλβινο ἦν πατρίδαμου, σᾶς γράφω τόνομάμου
Χάτζε Σιρέτης κράζομαι, πτωχὸς ἀπ' τὸ σεβντάμου,
ἂν θέλετε νὰ μάθετε καὶ τὸν γραμματικόμου
Παναγιώτης Σαλονίτογλους καὶ σκλάβος ταφεντόμου,
ἀμὰν, ἀμὰν ἐφέντημου κρίφι σκλαβὸς δικόσσου
ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν γυρεύομεν καὶ ἀπ' τὴν γυβερνησίνσου.

" And now I have resolved to finish the page.—
That you may know my origin, myself, and my parentage,
Délvino is my native country: I write you my name.
I am called Hadji Serét, a poor man by destiny.
If you wish to know who is my scribe,
It is Panaghióti Salonítoglu, a slave also of my lord.
Pity, pity, my lord, for subsistence your slave
Seeks from God and your good care."

* * * * * *

νὰ ζήσουν οἱ πασιάδες
χάϊρ ντοβᾶ σᾶς κάνομε καὶ μεῖς οἱ φουκαράδες[1].

" Long life to the Pashás,
To whom we poor men offer our good prayer."

Note II.—Page 27.

Valiaré Khan.

It was within the walls of the Valiaré Khan that about 600 of the male inhabitants of Gardhíki were slaughtered by the guards of Alý Pashá, in the year 1812. Like another famous example of Turkish cruelty and treachery, the massacre of the Mamlúks at Cairo, it furnishes a curious instance of the cowardice and infatuation which often blinds and paralyzes the people of these countries in cases of extremity, although accustomed from their youth to trust chiefly to their arms for security, to practice as well as to guard against dissimulation and treachery, and to

[1] Fukará, the plural of the Arabic fakír (poor man).

suspect every kind of deceit from an enemy. Though the Gardhikiotes knew that their leader Demír Dost, together with Mustafá Pashá, (late of Délvino,) and the other hostages of their own town, had been disarmed and thrown into prison at Ioánnina, they yielded to the invitation of Alý, to meet him, unarmed, at a place where they could not but have suspected that they were destined to destruction.

After the massacre the Khan remained closed for a long time, during which an inscription in sixty-four verses, after having been approved by the Vezír, was placed over the door. It begins with a dialogue between the Khan and the dead men, who explain to the former the cause of the massacre. They remark that—

Ὀντζάκι Μουτζοχουσάτικον ποῖος θέλει νὰ χαλάσῃ
Αὐτος νὰ εἶναι βέβαιος τὸν βίον θέλει χάσῃ.

"He that wishes to destroy the Mutjohussatic chimney[1] will be sure to lose his life,"—

And then proceeds to state:—

"When Alý was a little boy, (μικρὸ παιδάκι,) deprived of his father, with no brother, and only a mother, we ran with arms in our hands to cut him off. He escaped, skilful as he is, (ὡς ἐπιτήδειος,) upon which we went to Gariani (Καργιανὴ) and burnt his houses. It is now fifty years since. It is for that deed that he slew us at the Khan; that he has sent our chief men to the island of the lake of Ioánnina, and there put them to death; that he has dispersed our families among all the kazás under his authority, has razed our unfortunate town to the ground, and ordered that it may remain a desert for ever. For he is a very just man, (Διότι εἶναι δίκαιος πολὺ,) and in like manner slew the Khormovites, and ordered that not one should remain alive." In conclusion, Alý himself speaks and says: "When I consider this terrible slaughter, I am much grieved, and I desire that so great an evil shall never occur again:

Πλεὺν παρόμοιον κακὸν ποτέμου δὲν τὸ θέλω.

For which reason I give notice to all my neighbours that they

[1] The house of Alý.

must not molest my house, (*τὸ ὀντζάκι μου νὰ μὴ κακοποιήσουν,*) but be obedient, in order that they may be happy (*νὰ ὑποτάσσωνται διὰ νὰ εὐτυχήσουν*)."

This sad event took place (*ἔγινε τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν*) the 15th [27th] of March, 1812, in the afternoon, *τὸ δειλινὸν κοντὰ, i. e.* near three o'clock.

Neither here, nor in the poem on the life of Alý, is any allusion made to the real cause of the resentment of Alý, and which is the only excuse for his vengeance, namely, the horrible treatment which his mother and sister suffered from the people of Khórmovo and Gardhíki. The poet does not even allude to the women having been made prisoners when Alý escaped.

Note III.—Page 41.

The following information concerning Arghyrókastro was derived from D., an intelligent Christian native, who was in my service.

Arghyrókastro contains 4000 houses, two-thirds of which are Musulman; but the Turks and Greeks live upon nearly equal terms. When friends visit, even although of different religions, they do not hide their women, but show them great respect, rising to make way for them; and this custom is observed both in the houses and streets. But all advances towards familiarity are scrupulously avoided, and the women are subject to the same laws of jealousy and restraint as in other parts of Turkey. Both Greek and Turkish women are in the same servile condition. Each head of a family has weight and influence in proportion to the numbers of his relations and adherents, in which are generally included all the collateral branches. The persons of chief power, and who upon ordinary occasions are looked up to as composing the government of the place, are the brothers Mortezá Bey and Khotád Bey. They assume the power of imprisoning, judging, and even of inflicting capital punishment.

The *Καστρίταις*, (Kastrítes,) as the people of Arghyrókastro are usually called in Greek, boast that in the city and dependent villages, there are 1200 tufeks, (musquets,) and all in the hands of the best *παλικάρια* in Albania. Many of them are in Alý Pashá's service, and all are willing to be employed by him; but they express their determination of resisting his attempts to re-

duce them to entire subjection, as they know it would be followed as usual by his converting many of their lands into tjiftlíks of his own.

Family quarrels occur at Arghyrókastro as in other parts of Albania, often spread to the most distant branches, and are sometimes handed down from father to son. Alý Pashá, who wished to remove one Mehmét Bey, and knew that he had wounded the brother of D., who was then one of Alý's body-guard, sent one day for him, dismissed his attendants, made D. sit down beside him, proposed to him to go to Arghyrókastro, and place gunpowder under the house of Mehmét, and thus to blow him up with all his family. D. said he could not undertake so desperate a task, but that he would shoot the Bey, and upon this mission proceeded to his native town. Here, having bribed a man who had a window looking into Mehmét's house, D. watched his opportunity, fired, missed his object, but cut in two a candle which stood near the Bey, and left him in darkness, by which D. had time to elude the Bey's search, and to make his escape. D. related the transaction as a thing that did him some credit, though from fear of the Vezír he desired that it should be kept secret. The same person was a near witness of the death of Velý Bey of Klisúra and his brother, whom Alý enticed to Ioánnina on occasion of the marriage of Alý Pashá's son Velý with the daughter of Ibrahim Pashá. One day D. was ordered to fire a pistol on the staircase leading to the private apartment, in which the Vezír was in the habit of receiving only members of his family, and persons summoned to attend him on particular business: Alý then pretending to consider himself unsafe, directed that no person should enter the apartment armed, by which means he had a pretext for disarming both the Bey and his attendants, who had always before been at no great distance from their master on these occasions. His next step was to endeavour to persuade each of the brothers that the other was endeavouring to persuade the Vezír to put him to death; and having thus provoked them to a quarrel in his own presence, he suddenly pretended to be alarmed, called his servants to his defence, and dispatched them.

Note to Chapter IV.

Since this Chapter has been printed, I have been enabled by the kindness of Mr. T. L. Donaldson, architect, to subjoin among the plates at the end of this volume a plan of the ruins of Nicopolis, reduced from his drawings. From an examination of those drawings, and a comparison of the workmanship of the walls of the fortress now called the Paleókastro with that of the theatres, baths, and the great entrance of the city from port Comarus, it seems evident that the greater part of the Paleókastro is coeval with the other works, or of the time of Augustus; and that the observation which I made (see p. 188) as to repairs of a subsequent time, particularly in that of Justinian, will apply very little to the western and northern fronts of the Paleókastro, but only to portions of the walls, such as the Arabian gate, where the *cross* is seen.

Notes to Chapter V.

Note I.—*On Suli.*

The work from which the following notes on Suli are extracted is intituled, "A Brief History of Suli and Parga."—Ἱστορία Σύντομος Σουλίου, καὶ Πάργας. The author is a native of Parga, who ultimately became a major in one of the corps in the service of the Ionian islanders or their protectors. The first part of the history of Suli, together with that of Parga, dated by the author in 1801, was published at Paris in 1803; the entire work at Venice in 1815. In 1823 an English version of an Italian translation was published at Edinburgh. As the accuracy of the original has suffered a little in this double transfusion, I have thought that an abstract of the work which I made long ago might still be acceptable to the reader.

Seventy years ago, (*i. e.* about 1730,) Suli had not more than 200 men bearing arms: by degrees Turkish oppression compelled many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country to retire into the mountain, and thus increased the Suliote population.

The families of Suli, before the last war with Alý Pashá, were—

1. The Ζερβάται: these take their name from Zervá, a village of the district of Arta. There were three brothers of that village, of whom one turned Turk, (ἐτούρκευσεν,) and settled in a Musulman village named Καρμπουνάρι, (between Margaríti and Paramythía); another settled at Lefka of Corfú, where there is now a family of Zervátes; the third migrated to Suli.

2. The Μποτζαράται, who came originally from Δραγάνη, four hours from Paramythía.

3. The Δρακάται, from Μαρτάνη, a village of the district of Λάμαρι.

4. The Μπουζμπάται, from the Βλαχοχώρια of Mount Pindus.

5. The Δαγκλιάται, from Φανάρι.

6. The Ζαβελλάται.

7. The Πασάται: the origin of these two is not known.

These were the most ancient families; there were many others of inferior note. The farthest distance of time to which the author has been able to trace the Suliote history is 150 years. In former times Suli was a Spahilík, and the Spahí lived at Ioánnina. His dues were regularly paid by the Suliotes, and so was the Kharátj (κεφαλιάτικον) of thirty-five parás for each man, and ten for each boy; the latter being so considered as long as he lived in his father's house, whether married or not. Butter and cheese, their only produce, paid a tenth to the Spahí, all their corn and pulse was imported from the plains. Until the time of Alý, the Suliotes prided themselves upon being obedient (οὐκ ἀπειθεῖς) to the Porte. After Alý had established himself at Ioánnina, he made many attempts to get the Spahilík of Suli out of the hands of the then Spahí Bekír Bey, who constantly refused, and was at length imprisoned and put to death by Alý.

The author apologizes for the robberies of the Suliotes, by the necessity to which they were driven when the increasing numbers of the enemy had deprived them of all the villages in the plains which had formerly supported them. They had neither arts nor commerce, but attended only to arms from their youth (παιδιόθεν). The women learnt the use of the musquet, and in war were employed in carrying ammunition and provision into the field. The wives of the most renowned warriors had the privileges of πρωτογέμισμα and πρωτοπότισμα at the βρύσις—that

is, to fill their jars, or water their cattle, at the fountain, before all other women; and it was a custom among them on those occasions to utter reproaches against the wives of men who had never distinguished themselves. When the men quarrelled, the women were in the habit of interfering, to prevent them from coming to blows; and this generally succeeded, because the men were afraid that a woman might in the confusion be killed, which would not only be a national loss, but would lead to a retaliation between two families which it might be difficult to compromise. There was no written law: in each family the head decided all disputes. Those which occurred between individuals of different families were made up by arbitration; and even in the case of a loss of life, was commutable by a fine. In Suli, however, these barbarous manners (which are general in Albania) were corrected by a high sense of military honour, and of patriotism, especially when the republic was threatened by an external enemy.

There were four villages in the great ravine of Suli, namely, Σοῦλι, Γκιάφα, Αβαρίκος, and Σαμονήβα. These were the foundation of the league. Suli contained 19 *φάραις*, or alliances, and 425 families, the most noted were those of Ζαβέλλα (or Τζαβέλα), Μπότζαρη, and Δαγκλιά. In Gkiáfa were 4 fáres, and 60 families. In Avaríko, 3 fáres, and 55 families. In Samoníva, 3 fáres, and 30 families.

In the height of their power the Suliotes had 66 villages in their confederacy, the territory of which extended 4 hours, or two-thirds of the distance towards Margaríti, and about half way to Paramythía and to Ioánnina: the former of which is reckoned 8, and the latter 14 hours from Suli.

The villages in the district of Margaríti were:—

Τζικουράταις,	Κοῦνι,	Τουρκοπάλουκον,
Ζαβροῦχον,	Μπερμπῆλι,	Γκανῆ,
Ποταμιὰ,	Ζαροβίνα,	Γρόπαις,
Γλυκὺ,	Βερμπέτζα,	Κελλὶ,
Περιχάταις,	Γιαννούτζη,	Σπαθάρι,
Κατζανοχῶρι,	Κορυτιανὴ,	Σαλέσσι,
Νεμίτζα,	Μποντάρι,	Παλιοκιτζιάταις,
Χόϊκα,	Νιαγκάταις,	Σκάνδαλον,
Κλεισοῦρα,	Γορίτζα,	Κουλοῦρι,
Μουζακάταις,	Κορώνη,	Στάνοβο,
Ἄρτζαις,	Κορωνόπουλον,	Λουγκανίους.

In the districts of Paramythía and Ioánnina :—

Ζιγκάρι, or Τζιγκάρι,	Σέσσι,	Γκινόλα,
or Τζαγκάρι,	Ἀλσοχῶρι,	Σκιαδὰ,
Κολιοὺς,	Παλαιοχῶρι,	Ζεφλῆκι,
Γλυβίτζα,	Κονταίταις,	Ζεσιανὰ,
Καρίστιανη,	Σερίτζιανα, or ἄνα,	Τερβίτζιανα, or ἄνα,
Μπεστία,	Γοράνα,	Γιοργάνη,
Μοκοβίνα,	Νικολιτζίους	Μπάλα,
Δραγοβέτζη,	Μπουλιαράταις,	Κλεπάδι,
Ἀρδόσι,	Κουτζιανόπουλον,	Τόσκησι,
Συστροῦνι,	Ζερλία,	Λύβα,
Ρωμανάταις,	Ζερμὴ,	Γκολυμὴ.
Βύλα,		

In time of war all the outlying villages were left to their fate, and the inhabitants of the following only were allowed to retire into the mountain. Tzikurátes, which has 5 fáres; Perikhátes, 2; Vyla, 2; Alsokhorí, 3; Kondátes, 1; Gkinóla, 3; Tzefliki, 2; in all 18 exterior fáres, helping to defend the mountain. The outer villages assisted the mountain secretly with provision, and were seldom much injured by the enemy, for fear of a retaliation upon his own villages. It was the practice of the Suliotes, when they met with large bodies of the enemy, to skirmish only, but when they encountered with numbers nearly equal, to kill or make prisoners, and afterwards to take ransom for as many as possible. They had as much prudence as valour, and seldom exposed themselves but when they could not effect their purpose by stratagem and cunning.

The Suliotes not having committed their transactions to writing, have lost the exact history of them. Their wars were chiefly with the Turks of Margaríti, Paramythía, and Ioánnina. The following are the principal :—

1. Against Hadjí Pashá, son of Aslán Pashá, who commanded 12,000 men, when the Suliotes had only 180.
2. Against Mustafá Pashá, and 7000 men.
3. Against Dost Bey, and 8000.
4. Against Maxút Agá, and 6000.
5. Against Sulimán Tzapári, and 9000.

The Suliotes drove him and his son Hassán into the church of St. George, in Suli, and threw hives of bees in through the roof, till they surrendered. The Suliotes received 1000 sequins for the ransom of these prisoners.

6. Against Pasiá Kokka, and 4000 men.

7. Against Bekír Pashá, and 5000.

8. Against Hassán Tzapári and Hassán Braím Agá, and 5000.

9. Against Alý Pashá, and 10,000.

10. Against the same, at the head of 22,000 men, in the summer of 1792 [1].

On the last occasion, when the Pashá had collected his troops, he announced that the expedition was destined against Arghyrókastro, and wrote to the two heads of the houses, Bótzari and Tzavélla, inviting them to accompany him, and offering double pay to all those whom they should bring with them. Bótzari declined to go, but Tzavélla with 70 men accepted the proposal. He had some suspicion that the expedition was really intended against Suli, but his doubts were removed on learning that a portion of the Vezír's army had advanced to Arghyrókastro, and had even been engaged in action near the town. When the Vezír himself, following in the same direction with the Suliotes, had arrived at the banks of the Kalamá, 30 miles from Ioánnina, he seized an opportunity, when the Suliotes had laid aside their arms after the march, to make them all prisoners, except three. Two of these fought till they were slain; the third leapt over a precipice into the river (ἕνα χαὸς ποταμοῦ), where no one dared to follow, and had the good fortune to escape a great number of shot that were fired at him. The Pashá marched immediately to Suli, hoping to surprise it, but the fugitive had given the alarm. While the Pashá was encamped before Suli, he was saved from a plan, which the Suliotes had laid to surprise and carry him off, by a certain tinker (γανωτὴς ἀγγείων) from the Kátzano-khória, who sent him a messenger with a letter in his shoe. This tinker is now (1801) called Λογοθέτης, and is in great favour with Alý. The Pashá having made Tzavélla great offers if he would assist him in obtaining possession of the mountain, Tzavélla engaged to do so, and left his son Foto in the Pashá's hands as a hostage. Tzavélla then wrote the letter of

[1] In this expedition the Agás of Margaríti and Paramythía were united with Alý. The estimate of the enemy's forces on all these occasions is liable to the usual uncertainty of Oriental accounts. As in Herodotus, the numbers of the defenders were well known, and those of the invaders exaggerated.

defiance which has been published by Eton, from whose work the author copied it[1].

Alý having formed a body of 8000 chosen Albanians, made them a speech, after which they broke their scabbards, and advanced against Suli from Glyký, by the pass of Klisúra. Kitzo, the nephew of Tzavélla, who was shut up in a tower near the entrance of the pass, defended himself so obstinately, that all his men, amounting to sixteen, were slain. The Suliotes, who were only 1300 in arms, were driven back to the pass of Aghía Paraskeví, where a terrible contest took place, which lasted for 10 hours. The superiority of numbers prevailed for a time, and the Albanians got possession of the town of Suli, but had not been there many minutes when a general assault was made upon them by the women as well as men of Suli, and they were put to flight. Alý, who had beheld the battle with his telescope from the hill of Bogorítza (Μπογορίτζα), perceiving that there was no hope, and fearing for his own safety, retreated with all possible speed to Ioánnina, where he ordered all persons to keep within their houses, in order that the extent of his loss might not be witnessed by the Ioannítes when his troops marched into the town. One thousand armed men only returned; the rest threw away their arms and part of their dress, that they might escape the more easily over the rocks, and thus after hiding themselves in the woods, they arrived half naked at Ioánnina. The Suliotes had 74 slain, and 90 wounded. The enemy, besides 2500 killed on the spot, lost many more who were cut off by the people of the outlying villages of the Suliote confederacy. The two parties fought from the 1st to the 20th July (old style), on which last day the Pashá fled[2].

[1] He errs, however, in supposing that Eton himself was at Ioánnina, when the transaction took place. Eton never was in this part of Greece, but derived his information from a Greek interpreter, who was in the service of the French Consul at Saloníki, and happened to be at Ioánnina at the time.

[2] The author, though he refers to Eton's work for some of the transactions which occurred previously to the battle, does not follow him any farther, but substitutes this short statement. He was probably sensible of the incorrectness of the narrative of Eton, who relates that the Albanians not only took Suli, but Kiáfa also; that 400 Suliotes were posted in the three towers of Mount Bira, and 400 in the forest on either side of the Klisúra, and that when

Moskho (Μόσχος), the wife of Tzavélla and mother of Foto, particularly distinguished herself on the day of battle. She broke open some cartridge boxes with a hatchet; and then loading herself and the women with cartridges, distributed them to the Suliotes in the trenches (μετερίζια). When Alý threatened to roast alive her son Foto, who was in his hands, she replied, that she was young, and could have other children, and that she would eat a bit of the roasted flesh rather than betray her country [1].

In 1798, when the war was on the point of breaking out between France and Turkey, Alý returning on that account from Widdín, where he had been employed against Pasvánt-Oglu, began hostilities by seizing the French General, Rosa, whom he had invited to a conference, and sent him prisoner to Constantinople. He then marched against Prévyza, which was occupied by a French garrison. The Prevyzans obtained a refuge for their families in Lefkádha, Paxús, Thiáki, and Parga, and prepared to assist the French garrison in defending the isthmus of Nicopolis. Instead of a trench which would have been effectual against the Turkish cavalry, the French fortified the isthmus with five redoubts. Their officers were at variance among one another, and stormy weather prevented the arrival of reinforcements from Lefkádha, so that the Vezír gained an easy victory at Nicopolis, and immediately marched into Prévyza, which had no works to defend it.

The battle was fought on the 12th of October, 1798. The Turks, who were 4000 strong, were opposed by 300 French and 600 Prevyzans; the attack was made on the height near the great

4000 Turks had advanced nearly to the Trypa, Bótzari, who was stationed in one of the towers, rang a bell as a signal to those who were in ambuscade in the forest, and who were commanded by his son Demetrius, and accompanied by Tzavélla. These advancing rapidly upon the rear of the enemy, and cutting off his retreat, produced the rout and dispersion which the historian of Suli has stated. The author blames Eton for having said that Tzavélla was among the slain on this occasion, instead of which he died of disease three years afterwards.

[1] Eton's informant was present when Foto was brought before Velý Pashá, who told him that he was to be roasted, in consequence of his father's treachery, when the boy replied, "My father will roast your father, or brother, if he catches them."

theatre, after which the French retreated into the redoubts[1]. At Prévyza, men, women, and children, were slaughtered, and the remainder sold like cattle [ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα]. A few days after his arrival at Prévyza, the Vezír wrote to the people of Parga, ordering them to submit, and to put the French garrison to the sword; hoping by these means to cut off the resources of the Suliotes, which were almost entirely derived from Prévyza and Parga: but the Parghiní disregarded his summons, and made common cause with Suli; and seven days afterwards, the Russo-Ottoman squadron having arrived, took Parga under its protection.

Though Alý thus failed in deriving all the advantage which he had expected from the possession of Prévyza, he determined to lose no time in attacking Suli once more. This was the eleventh war of which the Suliotes preserve a tradition. Having called the Beys and Agás together, Alý put them in mind of an ancient Albanian prophecy, that the Turks were to be conquered by the Franks; that the Albanians were to fight forty years longer with the Franks, and then to make peace with them; that the attack upon Turkey was about to take place, and consequently that they, the Albanians, must be prepared for war with the Franks. The resolutions of the council were kept secret; and it was given out that an armament was intended against Corfú: 28,000 men were in the meantime collected, and when assembled, suddenly surrounded Suli, which, in consequence of the treachery of George Bótzari, was not sufficiently provided.

This Suliote captain lived at Lakiá, four hours from Suli, (on the upper *Acheron*). Alý Pashá and the neighbouring Agás had been glad to keep on peaceable terms with him, because by his means their lands were exempted from the inroads of the Suliotes. The stipulated number of lufés (λουφέδες), which it was customary for the Turks in time of peace to pay to the Suliotes in order to ensure safety to the places bordering on them, were received by Bótzari, as commanding the advanced posts of the Suliotes, and ought to have been accounted for to the community, instead of which he divided them solely among the men of his own fara, and thus he first became suspected. His next step was to receive a bribe of 2500 piastres from Alý, to abstain from

[1] It is generally stated by the Prevyzans, that a few of the French only behaved well on this occasion.

interrupting him in his attack upon Prévyza, which his command of the passes leading to Lámari and the isthmus of Nicopolis enabled him to do. At length he went over to the Vezír with seventy families. When Alý found that, notwithstanding this loss, Suli was as determined as ever in its resistance, he obliged George Bótzari himself to march against Suli with 200 men, who were beaten at Redhovúni (Ῥαιδοβοῦνι). The traitor died in less than half a year after his defection; some say of grief, others that he was poisoned by the Vezír. The Suliotes attribute his defection, which is the greatest blot in their history, to Paláska, a man of Suli, who had been for some years in the service of the Pashá, and who, pretending to desert the Vezír, joined George Bótzari before his defection, and married his daughter.

The Suliotes were now 1500, under Φῶτος Τζαβέλλας, Δῆμος Δράκου, Τοῦσας Ζέρβας, Τζῆμα Ζέρβας, Κουτζονίκας, Γκόγκας, Δαγκλῆς, Διαμάντης Μάρκου, Γιαννάκης Σέκου, Πάσχος Λάλας, Βέϊκος Ζάρμπας, Θανάσης Πάνου, Κατζιμπέλης, Γιώργιος Μπούσπος, Ζηγούρης Διαμάντη, Κολετζῆς Μαλάμου, Πανταζῆς Ντότας, Αναστάσης Κάσκαγη, Αναστάσης Βάγιας, Γιώργιος Καραμπίνης, Νικόλαος Δημητρίου, Ἰωάννης Γιωργίου, Γιαννάκης Λάκη, Γιώργιος Καλησπέρας, Κίτζος Πανταζῆ, Παναγιώτης Λάμπρου, Γιαννάκης Πεπόνη, Θανάσης Τζάκαλη, Μῆτος Παπαγιάννη, Κώστας Κουρίτζης.

The Vezír's attack upon Suli was thus ordered:—First, 5000 men under Bekír Tjokadór Τζιογαδούρου, Giocatóre); of these, Hadji Bétu (Μπέτου) moved from Luro (Λοῦρος) and Kutzianópulo (Κουτζιανόπουλον), and thence to Zermí (Ζέρμῆ), where they fought with 70 Suliotes under Nikóla Dhimitríu, Nati Tjardji (Νάτης Τζιάρτζη), and Kolezí Fotomará (Κολετζῆς Φωτομαράς). The Turks drove them beyond Seritziána (Σεριτζιάνα), and then halted: the Suliotes remained at Kalogherá (Καλογερά), a mile and a half distant. Secondly, 8000 moved from Luro, Riniássa (Ῥινιάσσα), and the bridge of Tzoknídha (Τζοκνίδα), near Porto Fanári, to Gurítza (Γουρίτζα) in Fanári, where they remained two nights, and on the third day arrived at Nemítza (Νεμίτζα), where 400 Suliotes fought with them in the evening. In the night 200 of these, under Foto Tzavélla, retired to Suli, in consequence of a false report, that the Pashá's Seliktár with 3000 men was in possession of Mount Bogorítza; the remaining 200 Suliotes resisted all the ensuing day about Tzikurátes, Perikhátes,

and Glyký, and slew 128 Turks: of the Suliotes one fell, and five or six were wounded. Soon afterwards 300 under the Seliktár passed the Bogorítza to Vyla, which is four hours from Suli; they were opposed by not more than 70 Suliotes, but did not dare attack them. Three days afterwards another Musulman chief, Metzobóno (Μετζομπόνος), with 2000 men, passed Λύπα and arrived at Lyvíkista (Λυβίκιστα); the Suliotes attacked them, when tired with the march, and had they not taken shelter in the church and houses, half of them would have been destroyed; 30 were slain, and their arms, clothes, and provisions, with 25 horses, were taken: two Suliotes were killed. Thirdly, Isliám Prónio of Paramythía, and Mahmúd Daliáni of Konispoli, with 1500 men, marched to the mountain of Virtzákha (Βιρτζάχα), but as they wished well to the Suliotes, they only pitched their tents there. On the same day on which Metzobóno was defeated, the Vezír himself arrived with all the remainder of his troops at Lypa. He ordered all the men under the command of Yusúf Arápi, Hassán Tzapári, Ambáz Tepelenlí, Ibrahim Khemi, Sulimán Tjobán, and Mustafá Zygúri, to join Isliám Bey at Virtzákha, but on that day they only reached Sistrúni (Σιστροῦνι). 200 Suliotes under Foto and other chieftains possessed themselves in the night of a part of Sistrúni. In the morning they showed themselves, and were attacked by Mustafá Zygúri, at the head of 1300 men, who were soon followed by the whole army there posted, to the amount of 11,000. Foto shot Zygúri, then drawing his sword, and followed by all the Suliotes, he advanced against the Turks, and at the first fire brought down 25 of the enemy. The Turks retreated for two hours, and Foto brought away Zygúri's head. The Vezír then ordered all his forces to join Prónio, which was done the next day. On the third night the Suliotes, instructed of the enemy's motions by their friend Prónio, sent forward 250 men, headed by Foto and Dhimo Dhráku, to Virtzákha, and attacking the Turks three hours before day, and again at daylight, forced them to retreat with the loss of 22 men. One Suliote was killed, and Katzimbéli was wounded. The flight of the enemy was partly caused by a terrible hail which fell only upon the Turks, and was considered by both sides as an ὀργὴ Θεοῦ. They retreated to Lypa so much depressed in spirits, and so many of them desirous of returning home, that Alý found it necessary to address them with great mildness (γλυκύτητα καὶ παράπονον),

informing them that he intended to change his mode of attacking Suli, to build kules all around, and thus to blockade the Suliotes and prevent them from obtaining any provision or ammunition. He collected accordingly 300 builders (*κτίστας*), and began the operation, but having failed in driving the Suliotes from their outposts, many of his masons were killed, and he was unsuccessful in cutting off the enemy's communications. The following were the villages which the Turks occupied for the blockade, and in which they built towers:—Γλυκὺ, Περιχάτη, Τζικουράτη, Γοράνα, Σεριτζιάνα, Ζερμὴ, Κουπάτι, Βύλα, Ῥωμανάτη, Σιστροῦνι, and Λυβίκιστα. The whole circumference of the *πολιορκία*, or blockade, was twelve hours. The towers were built on all the strongest points.

Ibrahím Pashá of Avlóna now moved to the assistance of Alý with 2000 men, and took up his station on Mount Κουρίλα, four hours from Suli, to the northward. Foto marched against him with 1000 *παλικάρια*. They fought for three hours, when Foto was wounded from behind a rock. He called to his companions to cut off his head, but after some fighting he was brought off. The Suliotes, when he first returned to the field, having shown their joy in the usual manner (*κατὰ τὸ συνηθὲς*), by firing their musquets; the Vezír's Albanians flattered themselves that it was caused by some quarrel, and attacked them with 2000 men, of whom 70 were slain, and 80 taken. Actions now occurred almost daily. The Turks tired of the war, and of living only upon black bread and garlic, began to desert. An infectious disorder carried off five or six in a day. The Pashá filled up his ranks with new troops, but soon afterwards again left off fighting, and attempted a more rigid blockade. The Suliotes, however, found the means of carrying off horses and cattle from the country which was occupied by the enemy, and of receiving supplies from Parga. The Pashá next offered peace, to which the Suliotes were sufficiently inclined. He required twenty-four hostages, but as soon as he had received them broke off the treaty, and sent the hostages to the island in the lake of Ioánnina. Here, in order to disarm them, he obliged the priest of a church in the island to represent to them that it was a crime to enter the church with arms when they attended prayers, and the Suliotes having in consequence left their arms on the outside, some persons concealed for the purpose seized them. One of the Suliotes who had

kept a pistol in his girdle, shot himself with it as soon as he had discovered the treachery, which they all expected to be followed by their destruction.

Prónio, conscious that he was an object of suspicion to the Vezír, and apprehensive of the consequences, withdrew his forces, under pretence of preventing the Suliotes from obtaining supplies from his territory, but not before the Vezír, by means of an understanding with some of the Agás of Paramythía opposed to Prónio, had introduced 500 of his Albanians into the castle at that place, which obliged Prónio to comply with the Vezír's demand of his son, as a hostage for his fidelity to the Vezír's cause. The Suliotes having now no hope but from Ibrahím Pashá of Berát, sent Pasko Lala to him; when Ibrahím, who, though he had marched from Berát to the Vezír's aid, was in truth not more sincerely attached than Prónio to Alý's cause, consented to supply the Suliotes with 200 horse-loads of kalambókki, and 30,000 cartridges. Alý had immediate advice of this transaction, and as it left him little hope of speedy success, he sent his Seliktár with Kitzo Bótzari to make peace, before the Suliotes could learn the result of Pasko Lala's mission. The Suliotes being much straitened (*στενοχωρημένοι*), accepted the overtures, for the mere purpose of supplying themselves and families with food, and sent back Kutzoníka with the Pashá's messengers to Ioánnina. Ibrahím, on hearing of these negociations, withdrew his supplies, when Alý immediately broke off the truce, but not before the Suliotes had laid in a considerable store of provisions.

They continued to resist courageously. Alý offered them 2000 purses and a fertile country to live in, if they would retire from Suli. They answered, that their country was infinitely sweeter to them than either his money or his delightful places (*ἡ πατρίσμας εἶναι ἀπείρως γλυκητέρα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρασου καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς εὐτυχεῖς τόπους σου*). He then sent an agent (*μεσίτης*) to offer Tzima Zérva 800 purses, if he would withdraw with his adherents. Zérva refused the bribe, and replied that he should not know how to count such a sum (*τὰ ὀκτακόσια πουγγεία παρακαλῶ μὴ μοῦ τὰ στείλῃς, επειδὴ καὶ ἐὲν ἰξεύρω νὰ τὰ μετρήσω*). The Vezír's troops continued to desert, until being reduced at length to 8000, they found sufficient employment in protecting their own towers and trenches, and were more blockaded than the besieged.

As Suli received supplies chiefly from Parga, Alý caused Hierotheus, (Ἱερόθεος,) metropolitan bishop of Ioánnina, to write to Chrysanthus, (Χρύσανθος,) his suffragan of Paramythía, who resided at Parga, desiring him to use his spiritual influence against this alliance, or at least to give the metropolitan secret advice of all the designs of the Parghiní (*τῶν Παργινῶν*). The letter of course was dictated by Alý, who himself also wrote to Chrysanthus as follows:

Seal.

My friend Duatzí[1], despot of Paramythía, with my salutation, I inform you that Hassán Agá Tzapári has come here, and has interceded for you: I therefore, for his satisfaction, and because I take you under my protection, have overlooked all your failings towards me. Wherefore, on receiving my present letter, set out without any suspicion, and come here; for you are my protégé, and I love you beyond any other. Only come without fail, and do not let any thing rest upon your mind. No more. Farewell.

Ioánnina, March 8, 1801.

The bishop went to Ioánnina very unwillingly, and chiefly in

Βουλλα.

[1] *Ἠμέτερε Δουατζή μου, Δεσπότη τῆς Παραμυθίας, μετὰ τὸν χαιρετισμόν μου σὲ φανερώνω ὅτι ἐδὼ ἦλθεν ὁ Χασᾶν Ἀγᾶς Τζαπάρης καὶ μὲ ἔκαμε ρὶτζά διὰ ἐσένα καὶ ἐγὼ διὰ τὸ χατῆριτου, μαντάμ καὶ ἔχεις βρεθῆ τζιράκι δικόνμου, ὅλα τὰ σούτζιασου τὰ ἐχάρισα· ὅθεν λαμβάνοντας τὸ παρόνμου δίχως κανένα σουμπεχὲ νὰ κινήσῃς καὶ νἄλθῃς ἐδώ, ὅτι ἐσὺ εἶσαι τζιράκιμου καὶ σὲ ἀγαπῶ καλήτερα ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλον· μόνον μουτλάκ νὰ ἔλθῃς καὶ μὴν βάλῃς τίποτες στὸν νούνσου, καὶ ὄχι ἄλλο· ὑγίαινε.*

1801, Μαρτίου 8, Ἰωάννινα.

This is a good specimen of the Vezír's style, and of the Musulman natives of Greece in general. Seven of the ordinary words, besides the proper names, are Turkish instead of Greek.

consequence of the influence of a mother, two brothers, and two married sisters, who, being detained there by the Vezír, were compelled to join in persuading the bishop, who was not allowed to return to Parga until he had paid the Vezír sixteen purses (about 600*l.*) Soon afterwards, an agent of Ibrahím Pashá went to Parga; but Alý, though he wrote a pressing request to the bishop to learn the purport of this mission, received no answer to his letter. The mother and one brother of Chrysanthus died in the prison of Ioánnina, the rest ultimately recovered their liberty by the payment of a heavy ransom.

In the nine months during which Alý carried on active operations against Suli, his army lost 3800 men, besides wounded: the Suliotes had only twenty-five men killed, but they lost many by the effects of the hardships which they underwent. For ten months their sufferings from famine were extreme; although as a precaution they had sent many of the women and old men, together with 200 men belonging to the allied villages, (*τὰ πέριξ χωριὰ*,) to the Septinsular Republic (*Ἑπτάνησος Πολιτεία*). At the end of a year they were obliged to feed on grass, bark, and acorns, mixed with a little flour, and without any better support often fought in the midst of rain or snow. About this time 413 men and 174 women made an expedition to Parga in search of provision, and on the fifth day returned laden, both women and men. All the men were armed, and 100 of them, who were less heavily laden than the others, were placed as a defence in front and rear. The Turks did not attack them.

The three heroes of the Suliotes at this time were Foto Tzavélla, (*Φῶτος Τζαβέλλας*,) Dhimo Dhraku, (*Δῆμος Δράκου*,) and the Priest Samuel, (*Ἱερομόναχος Σαμουὴλ*). Among the stratagems by which they obtained provisions, that of John of Striviní, (*Γιάννης Στριβινιώτης*,) is particularly mentioned. Clothed in a white cloak, he passed unnoticed in the midst of a herd of cattle of the same colour, which were driven in the dusk of the evening into a stable, (*κατώγιον*,) from whence, in the middle of the night, he succeeded in conducting many of the cattle to Suli.

When the war had lasted eighteen months, the affairs of the Suliotes again assumed an aspect of hope, by an union of the old enemies of Alý against him. These were: 1. Ibrahím Pashá, of Berát and Avlóna, who, although father-in-law of Alý's two

sons, could never forget that Alý had once endeavoured to poison him by the means of his wife. 2. Mustafá Pashá of Délvino, whom Alý had formerly driven out of his town, and whose houses he had burnt. 3. Isliám Prónio of Paramythía. 4. Mahmúd Daliáni of Konispoli, whose daughter had been married to Mukhtár Pashá, divorced by him, and then married to Selím Bey Kókka. These allies gave forty purses to the Suliotes to buy provisions and ammunition. Hostages were exchanged, and thus the war was rekindled from Avlóna to Suli. Alý, enraged at this league (*συμμαχία*), hanged (*ἐκρέμασε*) a cousin of Foto Tzavélla, twelve years of age, and a nephew of Dhimo Dhraku, who were among the Suliote hostages (*ἐνέχυρα*) at Ioánnina.

The alliance, although formidable in appearance, had no important result: by dint of money Alý turned some of the beys of Ibrahím's pashalík against him, and some of the beys of Paramythía against Prónio. But the chief cause of the dissolution of the league was the loss of the castle of Délvino. With a view to obtain this important post, Alý gained over to his interest the family of Kalapodhá, (*οἱ Καλαποδάτες*,) and through them a Gardhikiote bolu-báshi, who commanded in the castle. He then caused a fictitious letter to be written to Mustafá Pashá from his wife, who resided with her family at Vrankalátes, eight hours from Délvino; which letter having caused the Pashá to quit Délvino for Vrankalátes, a thousand men in the interest of Alý, who were at hand, entered Délvino, and were admitted by the Gardhikiote into the castle. Ibrahím Pashá, alarmed at an event which threatened to bring the war into his own country, as well as by the conduct of the Beys of Berát, made a separate peace, and thus the alliance was once more dissolved. The Suliotes, however, had made good use of the moment to lay in supplies, had attacked the Turks in their towers and villages, had slain many, and had taken others, whom they generally released after stripping them of their clothes and arms. Prónio remained faithful to the alliance, notwithstanding that his son was still in the Vezír's hands; and Foto, with 300 men, having marched to Paramythía to his support, defeated his enemies, and returned to Suli on the second day with a considerable booty.

In the castle of Délvino the Vezír found six Suliote hostages

who had been sent thither when the alliance was made between Suli and Délvino. Among them was a brother of Foto and a son of Dhimo; these the Vezír spared, but beheaded the other four. Nevertheless, the chiefs of Suli performed the church service for all six, after which they made an immediate attack upon the enemy, and obliged him to retire from one of his positions with a loss of seventy men. This was followed by an expedition against the villages of their neighbour Hassán Agá of Margaríti, who had lately been active in the Vezír's interest. The object of this excursion was to collect provisions, as they were now in the expectation of being speedily attacked. The monk Samuel was made superintendant of all the ammunition and provision. No immediate attack, however, followed; the Vezír having at this moment been ordered by the Porte into Rumilí to oppose Osmán Djurjím Pashá, who had appeared near Adrianople as a rebel and as an ally (*ὁμόφρονα*) of Pasvánt-oglu of Widdín.

During Alý's absence, which lasted a great part of the summer and autumn of 1802, the Suliotes prepared for his return by collecting supplies. Samuel built a fortress (*τειχόκαστρον*) as a receptacle for the stores, (*ἀναγκαῖα*,) and to serve as a place of defence (*καταφύγιον*[1]). Alý, on his return, sent Kitzo Bótzari with proposals of peace on the following conditions: — 1. That Kitzo, with forty men, should be governor of Suli, under condition of being answerable that the Suliotes should do no damage to the Vezír's lands and villages (*τόπους καὶ χωριά*). 2. That Foto Tzavélla should be exiled from Suli. The Suliotes, considering that their own number was diminishing rapidly, while Alý's army was very numerous, that the Musulman Tzámidhes began to fight against them more in earnest than they had hitherto done, and that no hope of further assistance appeared, so far complied with the Vezír's proposals that Tzavélla retired to Khortiá, two hours from Suli. From thence he was persuaded to go to Ioánnina, where the Pashá prevailed upon him to undertake a mediatory mission to Suli, with the view of persuading the Suliotes to agree to his terms; or if that should be unsuccessful, to bring away with him all his adherents (*οἱ Τζαβελλάτες*). The Suliotes rejected the Pashá's offers, and

[1] The castle of Kúkia on Mount Kughni.

endeavoured to prevent Foto from returning; but he was faithful to his engagement. Nevertheless, on returning to Ioánnina, he was not admitted to the presence of Alý, but sent to Mukhtár Pashá, who ordered him to prison.

In May 1803 the Suliotes received 3000 lbs. of powder and 6000 lbs. of lead from the French, which alarmed all the Musulmans of Albania, and set all the neutral neighbours of Suli against them. It enabled the Vezír also to obtain an *order* from the Porte to reduce Suli. Of all the points in the πολιορκία, the most annoying to the Suliotes was Vyla, or Vília, (Βύλα, or Βήλια,) where was a square castle, with a tower at each angle and another in the centre. One dark night they contrived to undermine and blow up one of the towers; and from thence by making a breach in the central tower, to obtain possession of the lower part of it. The besieged in the upper story then pretended to surrender, but fired upon the Suliotes as they approached; upon which the latter collected wood in the lower part of the tower, and setting fire to it, suffocated, or burnt, or otherwise slew all the enemy in the tower, to the number of one hundred and sixty.

Alý now renewed the siege with vigour, and collected a great number of Tzámidhes, and even some Greek captains of armatolí (Καπιτανέοι τῶν ἁρματωλῶν). Velý Pashá took the command: his head-quarters were at Tzangári, (Τζαγκάρι,) two hours from Suli, with 7000 men. The Muhurdár (seal-bearer) of the Vezír, and Metzobón, were at Vyla with 5000. Hassán Tzapári and Ibrahím Démi at Zavrúkho, an hour and a half distant, with 4500. Bekír Tzokadór at Seritziána, four hours distant, with 3000. Yusuf Arápi at Tzekuráti, three hours and a half distant, with 4000. Notwithstanding this great force, the Suliotes were still successful in making sudden attacks upon the enemy, by which they continually harassed him, and often cut off small parties. The women were equally active in obtaining supplies of provision; accompanying detachments of armed men over the woods and bye-paths, (λόγγους καὶ στενώματα,) and returning loaded.

Samuel, among other means of persuading the Suliotes to a determined resistance, pretended to have a knowledge of futurity, and predicting that the Musulmans would soon retire, advised the Suliotes for a time not to fight. (He probably wished

to entice the enemy into the inmost ravines, and thus to bring about such a result as had occurred in 1792.) The Vezír's Albanians, having approached the last strong-holds of Suli, made a triple attack at Kiáfa, Samoníva, and the mill of Dala, (εἰς τὸν μῦλον τοῦ Νταλα,) but were repulsed at all those places, with the loss of 400 men. Two more traitors now revealed themselves: Kutzoníka and Pýlio Gusi (Πύλιος Γούση); the latter, on receiving twelve purses and the liberty of his son-in-law, who was in prison at Ioánnina, conducted 200 of the enemy into his own house at Suli in the night, when Velý Pashá, making at the same time a general attack, the village of Suli, in which there were only fifty-five men, was lost. These men resisted for some time at the hill in Suli, on which stood churches dedicated to St. Donatus and St. Elias; but, receiving no succour, they were obliged to retire, and not only Suli was taken, but Avaríko also, the defenders of which retired into Kiáfa. This fatal blow was received on the 3d of September, 1803. Velý then built Kules, and brought cannon and mortars against the remaining castles. On the 11th of November Foto Tzavélla arrived from Ioánnina: he had been sent by Alý to bring away the Tzavellátes, leaving his wife and children as hostages at Ioánnina. Secretly entering Kiáfa, he persuaded the Suliotes to seize this opportunity of relieving themselves of their old and ineffective men, and to take hostages for them from the Vezír, as if they were able-bodied. He then went to Parga, to request the Parghiní, as soon as the hostages arrived, to send them over to Corfú and Paxús. But as this could not be done without the permission of the Russians, whose consent did not arrive from Corfú for fifteen days, Foto quitted Parga and went to Margaríti, in order not to excite the suspicions of Velý Pashá at Suli, and of Alý at Ioánnina. At Margaríti, having received information that the Zervátes had been gained over to the cause of the Vezír by Bótzari and Kutzoníka, and had deserted from Kiáfa, he was sensible that no hope remained for Suli but in his own exertions, and proceeded with all the relatives whom he could collect to shut himself up with Samuel in the last remaining post on Mount Kughni.

At this moment Alý arrived at Suli, and demanded of Foto the fulfilment of his engagements. He refused, leaving the Vezír to dispose as he would of his wife and children. Velý's

Albanians attacked the place in great numbers, but were met outside the wall by 150 Suliotes, who fought for seven hours with musquets, swords, and stones. The assailants lost 700 men. Of the Suliotes there were 11 killed and 14 wounded, and among the former three women. Being now entirely deprived of water, the besieged entered into a parley with Velý, who gave them a written promise of free permission to depart, expressed in the strongest terms, and signed by all the chief Beys and Agás; it was dated the 12th of December, 1803. The following were the names affixed to it:—Elimás Bey of Libókhovo; Ismaíl Bey of Kónitza; Muhammèd Muhurdár; Pashó Bey; Ismaíl Dervísh; Hassán Bey; Ago Muhurdár; Andín Zárkani; Omer Dervísh; Metzobón; Hadji Bedéto; Elatíf Khodja; Hussa Metakósta; Ambáz Tepeléna.

Foto Tzavélla, Dhimo Dhraku, Tzima Zerva, and Tusa Zerva, taking two-thirds of the Suliotes, accompanied by some children of the Agás as hostages, moved towards Parga, while Kitzo Bótzari, Kutzoníka, and Paláska, marched to Zálongo (Ζάλογκον). Samuel remained with five Suliotes at Kughni, to give up the ammunition which remained there. During this operation, one of the enemy asked Samuel what punishment he thought the Vezír would inflict upon him. Samuel gave an insulting answer, and immediately setting fire to the gunpowder, destroyed himself and all who were with him, except two Suliotes, who are the witnesses that such was the fact.

Velý, being now master of all Suli, immediately sent 4000 men on the road to Parga to attack the Suliotes, in direct violation of his promises, but too late to effect his purpose. The Parghiní refused to give them up, and Count Mocenigo, the Russian plenipotentiary, residing with the Septinsular Republic, allowed them to take refuge in the islands. After a short repose the Vezír's troops marched from Suli to Zálongo. The Suliotes had necessaries for two days only. Several of the women, despairing of escape, surrounded as they were on the summit of the hill of Zálongo, destroyed themselves and their children, by throwing the latter over the rocks, and themselves afterwards. Some of these women were not killed by the fall, either because they fell on the bodies of their children, or because they were caught by their clothes on the points of the rocks. This hap-

pened in the day. In the ensuing night, the men, dividing themselves into three bodies, and placing the remaining women and children in the middle, forced their way through the enemy. Several of the men carried a child in one hand, and a sword in the other; twenty of them were slain in the attempt, many were made prisoners: the rest escaped by dispersing themselves in the woods and mountains. Three fourths, or about 150, escaped towards Parga; the remainder were taken, and after having been sent to join the other prisoners at Ioánnina, were forwarded, together with a portion of the latter, to Vurgaréli, a village of 80 houses at the foot of Mount Tzumérka, 6 hours from Arta, which had for some time past been inhabited by Kitzo Bótzari, and the Suliotes who had at different times seceded. At Riniássa, where 20 Suliote families were residing by permission of Alý Pashá, a body of Velý's troops finding no men there, murdered or carried off all the women and children. In this village there was a tower called the tower of Dhimúla (Κοῦλα τοῦ Δημοῦλα), inhabited by the family of George Botzi (Μπότζη). Besides his wife and married daughters, there were his son's wife and their children, to the number of eleven in all. Dhespo (Δέσπος), the wife of Botzi, setting fire to the powder in the tower, destroyed herself and all the party.

The Suliotes at Vurgaréli, joined by those who had escaped from Zálongo, expecting some mischief from the Vezír, retired to a monastery called Seltzo (Σέλτζο), where a fair is held on the day sacred to the death of the Virgin, (ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου). It is situated on a steep rocky height, 8 hours from Vurgaréli, near a village named Vrestenítza (Βρεστενίτζα), standing at the foot of Mount Frúsia (Φρούσια), which separates the district of 'Agrafa from that of Aspropótamo. One mile from Vrestenítza is the bridge of Kóraka over the river Aspro. Paláska, who on escaping from Zálongo had presented himself to the Vezír, and had been well received by him, was sent to invite the chiefs at Seltzo to submit, with promises that they should be rewarded: but as they refused to listen to these offers, the Vezír determined to reduce Seltzo by force. In the beginning of January, 1804, his Albanians occupied Mount Frúsia, and seven thousand men surrounded the monastery which stands at the foot of the mountain, near the river. Those who had lost

relations and friends in the Suliote war were placed in the front. So small however was the progress made in the month of April, that the Vezír threatened to remove all the investing force, and supply their place with others, if the Suliotes were not speedily taken either dead or alive. In consequence of this menace, the monastery on the 20th April was attacked on all sides; the Suliotes having advanced beyond the walls, 50 of them were surrounded and slain, which threw the remainder into such disorder that the Albanians obtained possession of the Monastery. The women were now more numerous than the men; a hundred of them met a large body of the enemy, and resisted for some time with stones, sticks, and knives. At length 300 Suliote men were taken, or killed; 160 women, many of them with children, threw themselves into the *Achelous*, and the remaining women were taken, with the exception only of Maria, wife of Ghioti Pandazí (Γιώτη Παντάζη), who with 55 men, headed by Kitzo Bótzari, escaped to Parga. The Vezír urged the Parghiní to drive the Suliotes out of Parga; and Abdulláh Bey, the Sultán's commissioner for the ex-Venetian places of Prévyza, Parga, Vónitza, and Vutzintró, residing at Prévyza, wrote to them in the same sense. The Suliotes therefore were obliged to retire to the islands, where the Government assigned to them locations at Paxús, and at Lefka, in Corfú.

A few months afterwards, Hassán Tzapári of Margaríti, finding himself destined to be the next victim of Alý's ambition, formed an alliance against him, consisting of Mustafá Pashá and Selím Bey of Délvino, with Daliáni of Koníspoli, Prónio of Paramythía, and Bulo Khusa of Margaríti. Convinced that nothing could be done against Alý until Suli was wrested from him, they invited the Suliotes in the Islands to join them in the attempt. Musa, son of Hassán, went for this purpose to Corfú, and as it suited the policy of the Russians, he easily obtained their concurrence in conveying the Suliotes to Parga. Khristáki, formerly a monk, but then holding the rank of major in the Russian service, accompanied them as agent of the Russian minister. Alý at this time had only 200 men in Kughni, 120 in Suli, 30 in Avaríko, and 60 in Kiáfa. Hassán and his allies met the Suliotes at Parga, and signed a treaty, dated 2d July, 1804. A body of the allied troops then marched into Fanári,

when, instead of attacking Suli immediately, Hassán thought only of clearing his own territory of the adherents of Alý; and as the Suliotes had engaged to be under his orders, they were unable to correct this ill conduct of his.

Alý soon reinforced his posts at Suli, and all the Suliotes could do, was to take possession of Zálongo. Although the Russians sent to Khristáki an ample supply of kalambókki and cartridges for the use of the Suliotes, besides allowing each Suliote 22½ piastres a month, they were left so destitute by the Russian agent, that they were obliged to forage in the neighbouring lands of the Greeks to prevent starvation. When these things were known at Corfú, Khristáki was recalled. Zálongo was soon surrounded by 6000 of the Vezír's troops, but such is the strength of the position, that they resisted with success, killed many of the enemy, with the loss only of five men, and obliged them to retire.

Five days afterwards the Suliotes, obliged by hunger, and seeing little hope of assistance from the Tzámidhes, evacuated Zálongo, and marched to Fanári, where, protected by entrenchments (*μετερίζια*), they fought with a large body of the enemy's cavalry. In the night they retired from this position, and in the morning reached Parga, with the exception of a body under Béiko Zarba (Βέϊκος Ζάρμπας), who, having been left 2 hours in the rear, with 30 Suliotes and 34 Musulman Tzámidhes was attacked by very superior numbers. They made a successful resistance until night, when the Musulmans wished to capitulate, but were dissuaded by Zarba, who assured them of his own determination, and that of the Suliotes, to fight all the next day, and to escape to Parga in the following night; and this he performed without losing a man, while the adversaries lost 87 men and 27 horses. Thus the Suliotes on the 10th of September were again collected at Parga, from whence they returned to Corfú. As they objected to the European discipline, General d'Anrep, the Russian commander, formed them into a body of light infantry. Six companies of 100 men were formed, each commanded by a *ἑκατόνταρχος*, two *πεντηκοντάρχοι*, and one *σημαιοφόρος*; 104 in all. To these six companies were added four which were from Khimára, and the command of the whole battalion was given to the Russian Colonel Beckendorf, who was succeeded after a few

months by Emmanuel Papadópulo. The number of these troops was increased, and they accompanied the Russians to Naples, against the French. When the Suliotes returned, many died of an epidemic disorder, which was often attended with delirium. In the war between Russia and Turkey, the Suliotes fought in the service of Russia, against the French in Sclavonia, and against Alý Pashá near Lefkádha. And at length, when the Islands were handed over to the French, in consequence of the treaty of Tilsit, they were taken, together with other Greek troops, into the French service.

Note II.—On Parga.

The following remarks on Parga are extracted from the same work as the preceding on Suli. The author's date is 1801:—Parga[1] occupies a rocky peninsula of a conical shape, less than a mile in circumference, upon which the Venetians built a castle. There are 400 houses in the castle, and as many without. The place is not strong towards the sea; to the land there are 30 guns: a garrison of 500 men is sufficient for the defence. There are two cisterns in the town, and a spring on the outside within musquet-shot, called Krémasma (Κρέμασμα). The territory, which is not more than 10 Italian miles in length, is of a semi-circular form, and consists of olive plantations and vineyards, with a few gardens and corn-fields. The port is bad, and not capable of containing more than 15 small vessels.

About the year 1400 the Parghiní[1], finding themselves annoyed by their neighbours, sent four deputies (*πρεσβεῖς*) to Corfú, who took the oaths of fidelity to Venice on the 21st of March, 1401, before the Bailo Azarino Caravello. A more perfect treaty was ratified at Venice on the 9th of August, 1447, in the first Dogato of Francesco Foscarini. In 1571 the castle was begun; in 1575 it was finished. The Castle of Margaríti was built at the same time. The people of Aghiá and Fanári were then so much under the same protection as Parga, that they paid their tenths (*δεκατία*) at Parga. The Parghiní at this time received from Venice a yearly donation of five módhia of salt for each married couple (*κάθε ανδρόγυνον*), and three for each child. This was after-

[1] *ἡ Πάργα*, or, according to Meletius, sometimes *ὁ Ὕπαργος*.

[2] *οἱ Παργινοὶ*.

wards commuted for 4000 módhia to be divided as the Archons thought proper. They received also a farther annual gift from Venice of *τηγανίταις*[1], or pancakes made of oil, eggs, flour, and honey: of these the archons had 15, the resident strangers 12, the priests and other official persons (*Ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐν ἐξουσίαις*) 36, masters of ships and strangers of note (*οἱ καραβοκυραῖοι ἄρχοντες καὶ ξενοὶ*) 36. The *Προβλέπτης*, or Venetian Proveditore, residing at Parga, was obliged, moreover, to furnish two annual entertainments (*δύο τραπέζας*) of cakes and sweetmeats (*γλυκίσματα*) for the success of the Venetian aristocracy (*διὰ πολυχρονισμὸν τῆς τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀριστοκρατείας*), one on Christmas Eve, the other on that of the Epiphany (*Θεοφανείων*); to these were admitted the archons, priests, and persons in office. The Protopápas had a double portion (*δίπλον πιάτον*). It was at these two feasts (*ἑορταῖς*) that the distribution was made of the tiganítes[2]. The magistrates accounted to the Proveditore for the kumérki or customs, which were three per cent. on the value of exports and imports. They were collected on the 1st of May, and the seven days following, when there was a festival (*ἐπανηγύρισαν*) at the expence of Venice, which was called the Rosália (*ἡ Ῥωσάλια*). On the eighth day, the *Ῥωσαλιώται*, or keepers of the feast of Rosália, had a sham fight (*πλαστὸν πόλεμον*), of two parties dressed, one as Italians, the other as Turks. The latter were made prisoners, and carried before the Proveditore, who dismissed them with a present. It was customary for the Proveditore on this occasion to pardon any exile or criminal (*φυγὰς ἢ κατάδικος*) for whom the archons might intercede.

There were seventeen chief families in Parga; namely, *οἱ Δεσιλάτες, Βασιλάτες, Πετζαλάτες, Δημολιτζάτες, Στανελάτες, Ζουλάτες, Μανιάκιδες, Μαυροϊωαννίτες, Ἱδρομένοι, Βέργιδες, Τζιορῖτες, Ζουπανέοι, Παπύριδες, Λουμπέοι, Βερβιτζιώτες, Βρανάτες, Καλούριδες.*

It was customary for the Venetians to supply the Parghiní with biscuit, powder, and ball, in case of necessity, and they had

[1] From *τηγάνι*, frying-pan.

[2] So tenacious were the Parghini of their old Venetian privileges, that when the place was consigned to the Porte by the treaty of 1800, they instructed their deputies at Constantinople to demand the continuance of the salt and pancakes.

always the prospect of a secure retreat at Paxús. This enabled them still to maintain their little territory against the Musulmans around them, who looked with an envious and greedy eye upon this flourishing little Christian community, and whose increasing power and numbers caused the wars of Parga to be more frequent during the last century than they were before. In these wars they have sometimes been attacked by 5000 or 6000 Turks, when they had no more than 400 musquets. In 1801 they had 1000 armed men (ἄξιοι διὰ τ' ἅρματα). When the French obtained possession of the islands in consequence of the treaty of Campo Formio, they deprived the people of Parga of all the indulgences which they had received from the Venetians, and for eighteen months left them to shift for themselves. When Alý Pashá took Prévyza from the French, he instantly desired the Parghiní to send a deputation to confer with him. To this they gave no answer. He then dispatched a second letter, dated 16th of October, 1798, ordering them to destroy or expel the French. They replied, that they were unable, even if they had been willing to do so. At the same moment, having heard of the arrival of Admirals Uschakoff and Kadrí Bey, with the Russo-Ottomanic squadron, at Zákyntho, they persuaded the French garrison to retire to Corfú, and dispatched deputies to the admirals, who were well received, and assured of the protection of the allies, but were recommended to cultivate the good-will of Alý. In consequence of this advice, a deputation was sent to the Pashá at Prévyza, who forced them, though declaring that they had no powers for the purpose, to sign a treaty, by which they gave up Parga to the Porte, and agreed to hoist the Ottoman flag, on the condition that they should preserve their ancient internal government, that they should not be obliged to admit any Turk into the place but as a guest, and that their tribute to the Porte should be no more than 200 floriá of Constantinople per annum, with three per cent. κουμέρκι on their maritime commerce. The treaty was signed by Ignatius, metropolitan bishop of Arta, on the part of the Pashá. The deputies on their return to Parga were accompanied by an officer of Alý, who was the bearer of a Turkish flag to be hoisted on the fortress. The treaty was disavowed, and the Turk was conducted into the castle as a prisoner, but at the end of ten days was allowed to embark in a boat sent for him by the Pashá. Alý then tried to persuade the people of Parga that he

had received firmáhns (*βασιλικὰ φερμάνια*) to take possession of Parga, Prévyza, and Lefkádha, and that they had better accept the treaty signed by the deputies. They replied, that the flags of the allied sovereigns of Turkey and Russia were then floating on their ramparts in conformity with the orders of the Russian and Turkish commanders. Alý, on receiving this last message, moved, in the middle of a rainy night, to Margaríti (two hours and a half from Parga), from whence he wrote to say that they had improperly followed the example of the Island in hoisting the two flags; that he had received a firmáhn from Constantinople on the subject, and that unless they submitted, they should be exposed to his utmost vengeance. Finally, he desired them to send him deputies before the evening. This was dated, Margaríti, 12th of November, 1798. Their answer of the same date was as follows:—

"Alý Pashá, we salute you. Your sudden approach removes every doubt from us, and makes us resolve upon death or victory for the sake of our native place. We neither listen to Khristáki or any other of our neighbours. The smoke of our native place, and the innocent blood of Prévyza, are to us the wisest counsellors. Those which you call flags, we have received and venerate as royal banners, and under them we will all conquer or die. Your Highness comes against them, not against us. We are only faithful and obedient to the two sovereigns, who will not allow us to suffer injustice. As you inform us that you will remain where you now are till the evening, we promise you that we shall always remain here, and that for the present we are to be found in arms on our frontier. Farewell, and may God assist the rightful cause.—Signed by the Proestí and others of Parga[1]."

Thus disappointed, Alý next tried the admirals; he gained

[1] Αλὴ Πασιὰ σὲ προσκονοῦμεν. Τὸ ἔξαφνον γεινονευμάσου τώρα εὐγάζει κάθε ἀμφιβολίαν ἀπ' ἐμᾶς καὶ μᾶς φιλοδωρεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος γλυκύτατον θάνατον ἢ νικήν. Ἡμεῖς οὔτε Χρηστάκην οὔτ' ἄλλον τινα ἀπὸ τοὺς γειτόνους ἀκούομεν. Ὁ καπνὸς τῆς Πατρίδος μας καὶ τὸ ἀθῶων αἷμα τῆς Πρεβύζας εἶναι εἰς ἡμᾶς δύο ὑδηγοὶ σοφώτατοι. Λὺτὰ ὁποῦ ὀνομάζετε πανιὰ ἡμεῖς τὰ ἐλάβαμεν καὶ τὰ σεβόμεθα διὰ βασιλικαῖς Παντιέραις καὶ ὑποκάτω εἰς αὐταὶς θέλει νικήσομεν ἢ ἀποθάνομεν ὅλοι καὶ ἡ Ὑψηλότης σου ἐναντίον εἰς αὐταῖς ἔρχεσαι καὶ ὄχι εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἡμεῖς τῶν δυὸ βασιλέων εἴμεθα, καὶ ὡς πιστοὶ αὐτῶν δὲν θέλει ἀδικηθοῦμεν. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ μᾶς δίδετε τὴν εἴδησιν ὅτι ἴως τὸ βράδυ

over Kadrí Bey by presents, but from Uschakoff he could only obtain that four Russians, four men of Kadrí Bey, and four of Alý, should be sent to occupy the Castle of Parga in the name of the allies, which not satisfying Alý, affairs were left in their former state. He attempted in vain to seduce Uschakoff's secretary, Major George Palatinó, a Greek of a Livadhiote family settled at Kefalonía, and succeeded only in opening a correspondence with a family of Parga called the Καλούλιδες Τζιγνάνοι, but their fellow-citizens discovering the correspondence, expelled them from the place. Uschakoff, to save Parga from the fate of Prévyza, sent thither, as ἐπιτηρητὴς, Major Stekúli of Kefalonía, and afterwards Colonel Gabriel Palatinó. Alý represented the Parghiní to the Porte as friends to the French and Suliotes, and as harbourers of robbers; but all he could obtain from the supreme government was a notification of its intention to send from Constantinople a Vóivoda to govern the Ex-Venetian places, which took place accordingly.

εἶστε αὐτοῦ, ἡμεῖς σᾶς ὑποσχόμεθα ὅτι εἴμεθα πάντα ἐδῶ καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὑρισκόμεθα ἁρματωμένοι εἰς τὰ σύνορα. Ὑγίαινε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἄς δώσῃ τὸ δίκαιον εἰς ὅποιον γνωρίζει ἀθῶον.—Οἱ *προεστοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τῆς* Πάργας.

END OF VOL. I.

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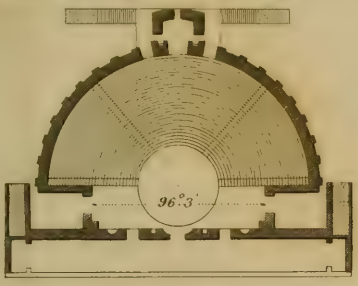
NORTHERN GREECE,
FROM THE ISTHMUS TO
MACEDONIA AND ILLYRIA
INCLUDING A PORTION OF THOSE TWO
PROVINCES.
BY W. M. LEAKE.
Ancient names are in hollow capitals as ACARNANIA or underlined as Nicopolis; when within brackets ( ), they are the ancient names of the contiguous modern names, as, Thiáki (Ithaca) KASSANDHRA (PALLENE). the roads are those only which are described in the Roman Itineraries. Ant. implies that the Road is found in the Antonine, Jer. in the Jerusalem, Tab. in the Theodosian or Peutinger Table.
P.° Paleó (ancient) ⌑ Castle or Fortress. Kat.ª Katavóthra
K.° Kastro (Castle) + Monastery or Church. (the entrance of a
Kh.° Khorió (Village) • Site. Subterraneous river)
A Aghio (Saint) △ Ruins of an ancient Town or Fortress.
Pr. Pro. Prom. Promontorium. S. Sinus. P. Portus. F. Fluvius.
M. Mons. T. or Turc.° distinguishes the name as Turkish.
The dotted line beginning near Astura, and ending in the Gulf of Volo, is the new Turco-Greek boundary.
I. KORFÚS (Corcyra)
I. LEFKÁDHA (Leucas)
I. KEFALONÍA (Cephallenia)
I. ZÁKYNTHO (Zacynthus)
I. Thaso (Thasus)
Gulf of Salonikí
Gulf of Kassandhra
Gulf of Aghion Oros
Gulf of Volo
Gulf of Corinth
Gulf of Éghina
Scale of British Statute Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30
Published for the Author by J. Rodwell, New Bond Street 1836.

THE RUINS of NICOPOLIS in EPIRUS,
reduced from drawings by T. L. Donaldson, Esq.

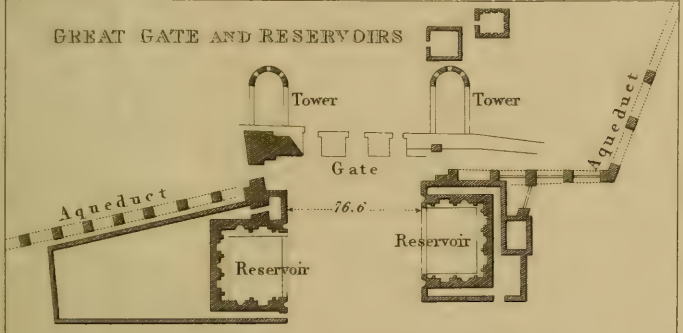
Scale of the buildings

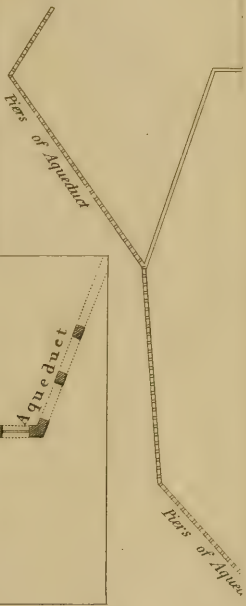
10 20 30 40 50 100 200 300 feet

ODEIUM OR SMALL THEATRE



GREAT GATE AND RESERVOIRS

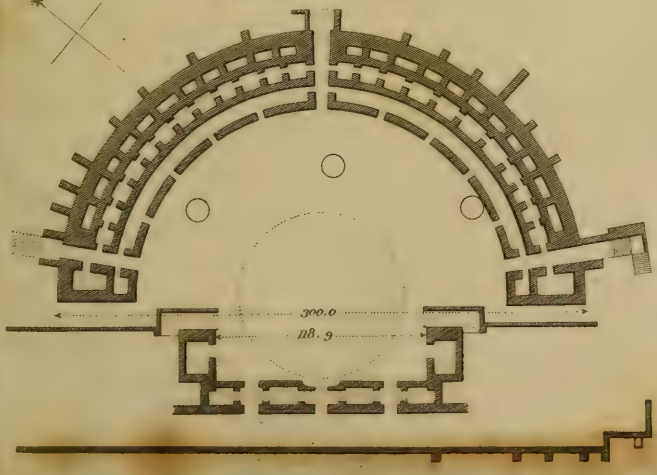


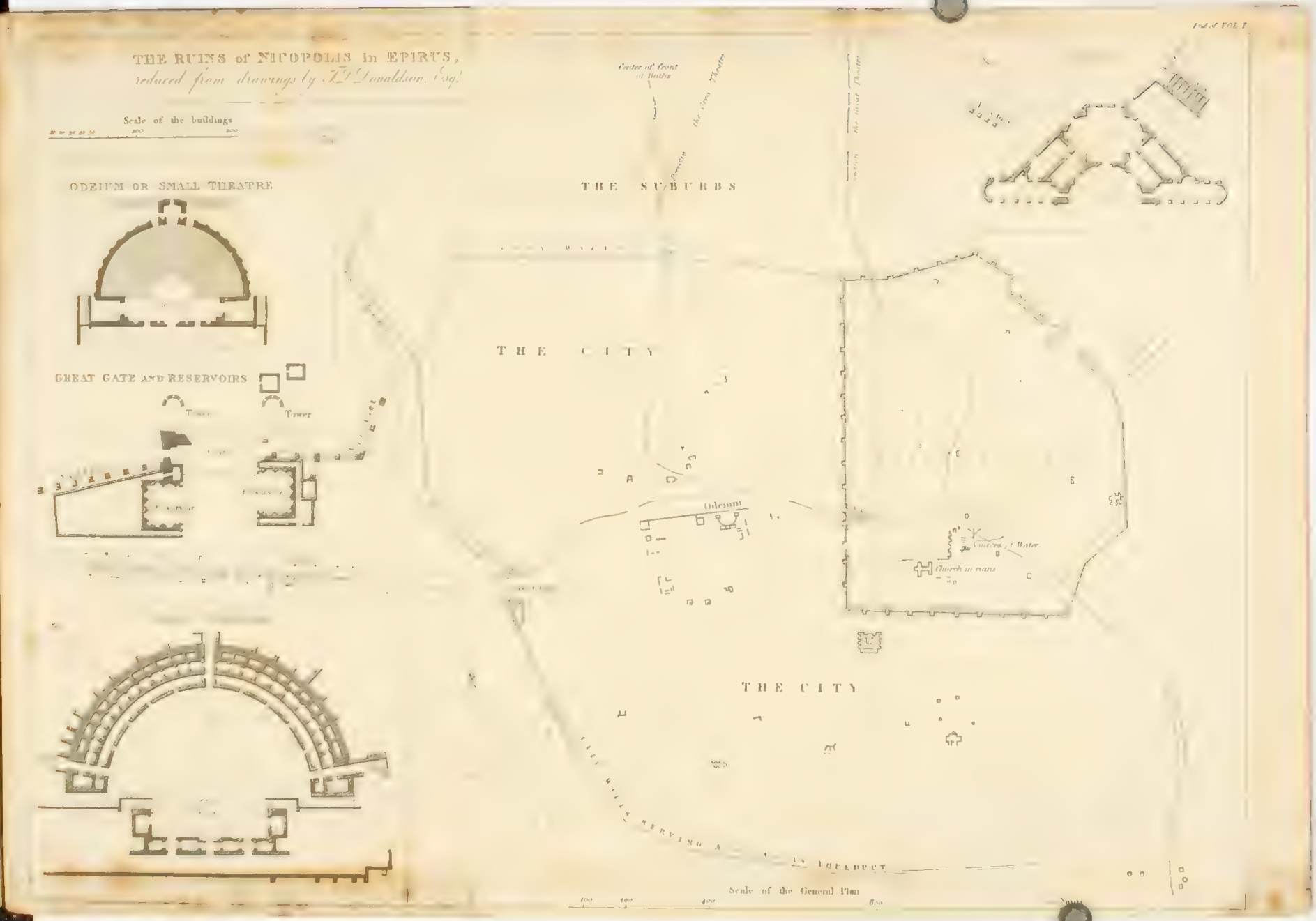


Tombs

Road to Comarus lined on each side with Temples & Tombs

GREAT THEATRE





THE RUINS of NICOPOLIS in EPIRUS,
reduced from drawings by T. L. Donaldson, Esq.
Scale of the buildings
ODEIUM OR SMALL THEATRE
GREAT GATE AND RESERVOIRS
Tower
Center of Front of Baths
THE SUBURBS
THE CITY
Odeium
Church in ruins
THE CITY
Scale of the General Plan

N°1. At Bokhóri.

ΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ
ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ

N°2. At Lepenu

Δ Ι Κ Κ Ω
ΛΑΜΠΩΝΟΣ

N°3. At Sisáni.

ΑΛΕΙϕΟΥΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣϬΕΤΟΥΣ
ϬΛϥΕ>ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΤΟΥΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥϬ
ΤϥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΙΟΥ
ΛΙΑΝΟΥϬΕΦΗΒΑΡ
ΧΟΥΝΤΟΣϬ ΤΙϬ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΠΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΕΦΗΒΟΙ ΟΙΥϬΠΟΓΕΓΡΑ
ΜΜΕΝΟΙ

N°4. At Apollonia.

Λ·ΛΙΚΙΝΙ·ΤΗΡΙ
ΕΤΩΝ ΣΕ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

N°5. At Apollonia.

ΤΙΤΩΙΟΥΛΙΩΚΛΗΜΕΝ
ΤΙΖΗΣΑΝΤΙΚΛΩC
ΕΤΗΜΕΗΙΔΙΑΓΥ
ΝΗΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΘΕΡΙΝΗ
ΑΝΔΡΕΙΚΥΡΕΙΩΕCΤΗ
CΕΝΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ

for the Names which follow, see Chapter 7.

N°6. At Kalabáka, at a Fountain at the Church of Prodhromo.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑCΚΑΙCΑΡΑCΛΟΥΚΙΟΝC
ΠΤΙΜΙΟΝCΕΟΥΗΡΟΝΤΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΑΚΑΙΜΑΡ
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ΒΙΚΟΥCΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΙΚΟΥCΜΕΓΙCΤΟΥCCΕΒΑC
····ΠΟΛΙCΑΙΓΙΝΙΕΩΝ

N°7. At Kalabáka, in the Wall of the Episcopal Church.

·ΙΚΟΠΟΛΙCΗΑΠΕ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟ····
···ΟΕΡΩΘΕΙCΑΥΠΟΘΕΡ.ΟΕ··ΞΕΝΙΚ
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ>ΕΔΩ ΥΠΟΔΙΚΕΟΠΟΛΕ.
ΚΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ*ΚΓ ΕΔΩΚΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΑΜΙΑ·ΟΥCΑ··· *ΚΒ<ΤΑΜΙΑΟΛΑ
ΝΕΙΚΑΝΟΡΟC · ΕΙΩΑΜΒΙΛΟΓ···
ΠΙΕΥΓ·ΑΙΚΗΙΟΥ ΠΑΓΑ·ΟΥΜΕ..
ΝΟCΙΠΠΟΔΙΟ. ΟΥ._Ξ....
Ο.

N°8. At the same place as the preceding.

.....ΠΟΛΕΩ.....

ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΑ ΚΕΠΗΓΑCΙCΟΚΕC
ΛϬΟΕΡ.CΜΝΕΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

N°9 At Lárissa - in the Town.

.ΝΑΤΟΛΗΑΡΙΣ
ΟΝΕΙΚΟΥΑΠΕ
ΕΥΘΕΡΑΗΡΩΣ
ΡΗΣΤΗΧΑΙΡ

N° 10. At Lárissa - in the Cemetery

ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΑΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΝΤ
ΟΝΕΑΥΤΗCΑΝΔΡΑΜΝΕΙΑC
ΧΑΡΙΝΗΡΩCΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

N°11. At Lárissa - in the Cemetery.

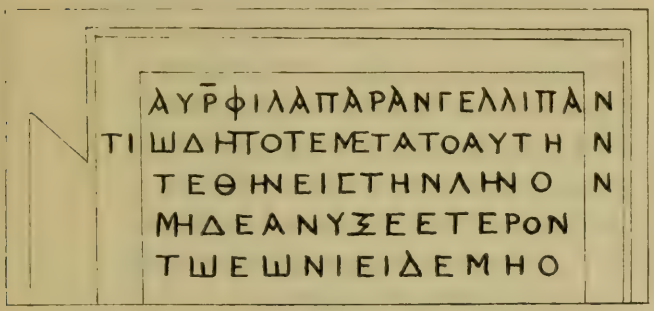
ΑΥΓΗΓΑΙΟΝΤΟΝΙΔΙΟΝΑΝΔ
ΡΑ
ΜΝΕΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ
ΗΡΩCΧΡΗCΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ

N°12. At Lárissa - at a Fountain on the Eastern side.

. . . . . .

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ

N°14. At Fersala - in the Wall of the Greek Church.



N°13. At Larrissa - in the Wall of the Metropolitan Church.

ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ

ΠΑΡΛΑ ΤΙΤΙΟΥΟΝΗCΙΜΟΥΤΟΥ
ΤΑΜΙΟΥΤΗCΠΟΛΕΩCΤΗΝ Β̄
ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟΝΕΝCΡ ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑ
ΤΙΔΗ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΛΠΕΛΤΩΝ
ΔΕΔΩΚΟΤΩΝΤΟΥCCΤΑΤΗ
ΡΑCΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ ΜΑΦΡΙΟΥ<
ΤΕΛΕCΦΟΡΟC ΑΓΑΘΗΚΑC
CΑΝΔΡΑ ΗΡΑΚΛCΩΝΧΑΡΙ
ΤΑCΤΡΑΤΩΝΙΟΥΚΟΥΝΔΑ

J. Netherclift' Lithog.

N.º 15. At Dhomokó.

ΤΟΙΣΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥΣΙΚΑΤΙΔΙΑΝΤΩΝΠΟΛΙ
ΤΩΝΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΩΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΘΑΥΜΑ
ΗΣΑΝΤΕΧΟΜΕΝΩ ΕΔ
ΣΑΙΤΕΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕΝΗΝΕΠΙΤΗΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΗΝΕΧ
ΕΝΤΟΙΣΔΙΑΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΟΙΣΥΠΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΡΗΣ
ΛΕΩΣΤΗΣΘΑΥΜΑΚΩΝΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ
ΡΑΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣΘΑΥΜΑΚΩΝΤΑΤΙΜΙΑΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΝΘ
ΤΑΙΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΥΠΑΡΧΕΙΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΑΓΟΥ
ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΟΥΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟ
ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΚΑΙΤΑΔΕΔΟΓΜ

N.º 16. At Dhomokó.

ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΠΟΛΙΣΘΑΥΜΑΚΩΝ
ΕΔΩΚΕΑΓΕΣΤΩΙΑΓΡΟΛΕΩΝΟΣ
ΚΑΛΛΙΕΙΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝΕΠΙΝΟΜΙ
ΑΝΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΕΝΚΤΗ
ΣΙΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕ
ΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΝΑΣΕΝΤΟΝΑΠΑΝΤΑ
ΧΡΟΝΟΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ
ΟΣΑΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΠΑΝ
ΤΑΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝΣΦΡΟΔΡΙΑΛΕ***ΔΑ
ΦΑΝΑΕΝΓΥΟΣΤΑΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣ
ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑΣΤΟΙΣ
ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΠΟΛΙΣΘΑΥΜΑΚΩΝΕΔΩΚΕΝΠΥΡΡΑ
ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΟ**Ρ***ΕΙΩΤΑΙΟΝΤΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑ
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝ**ΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΕΠΙΝΟΜΙΑΝ
ΑΣΥΛΙΑΝΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΕΝΚΤΗΣΙΝΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ
ΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΝΑΣΚΑΙΑΥ*****
ΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣ*ΝΤΟΝΑΠΑΝΤΑΧΡΟΝΟΝΚΑΙΟΣΑ
ΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΠΑΝΤΑΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ
******ΑΙ*ΙΡΑΚΟ*ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟΥΕΝΓΥΟΣΤΑΣ
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΣΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣΕΥΗΘΙΔ..

N.º 17. At Neópatra. (a Fragment.)

.....ΕΑΥΤ....Κ...ΥΛΙΩΝΑΛΥΚΟΥ
ΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΥΠΟΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΚΤ

J. Netherclift Lithog

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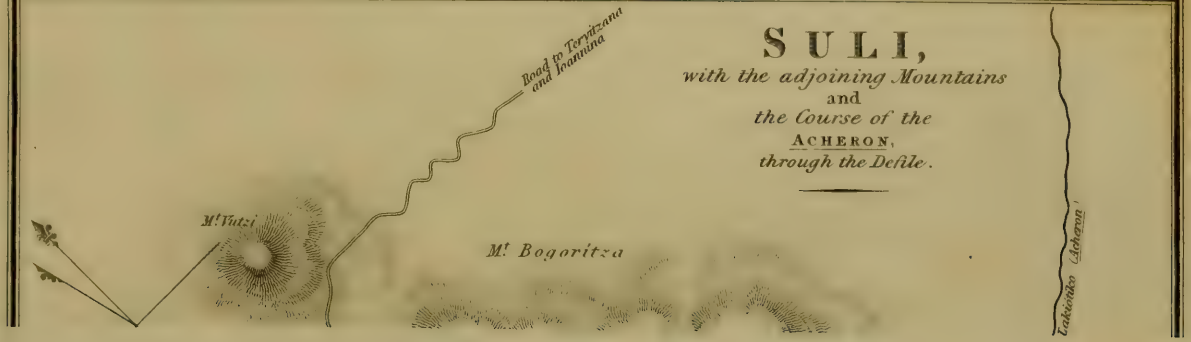

SULI,

with the adjoining Mountains
and
the Course of the
ACHERON,
through the Defile.

W.M.L. m. et d.

Published for the Author by J. Rodwell New Bond Street, 1836.

J.& C. Walker Sculp.t

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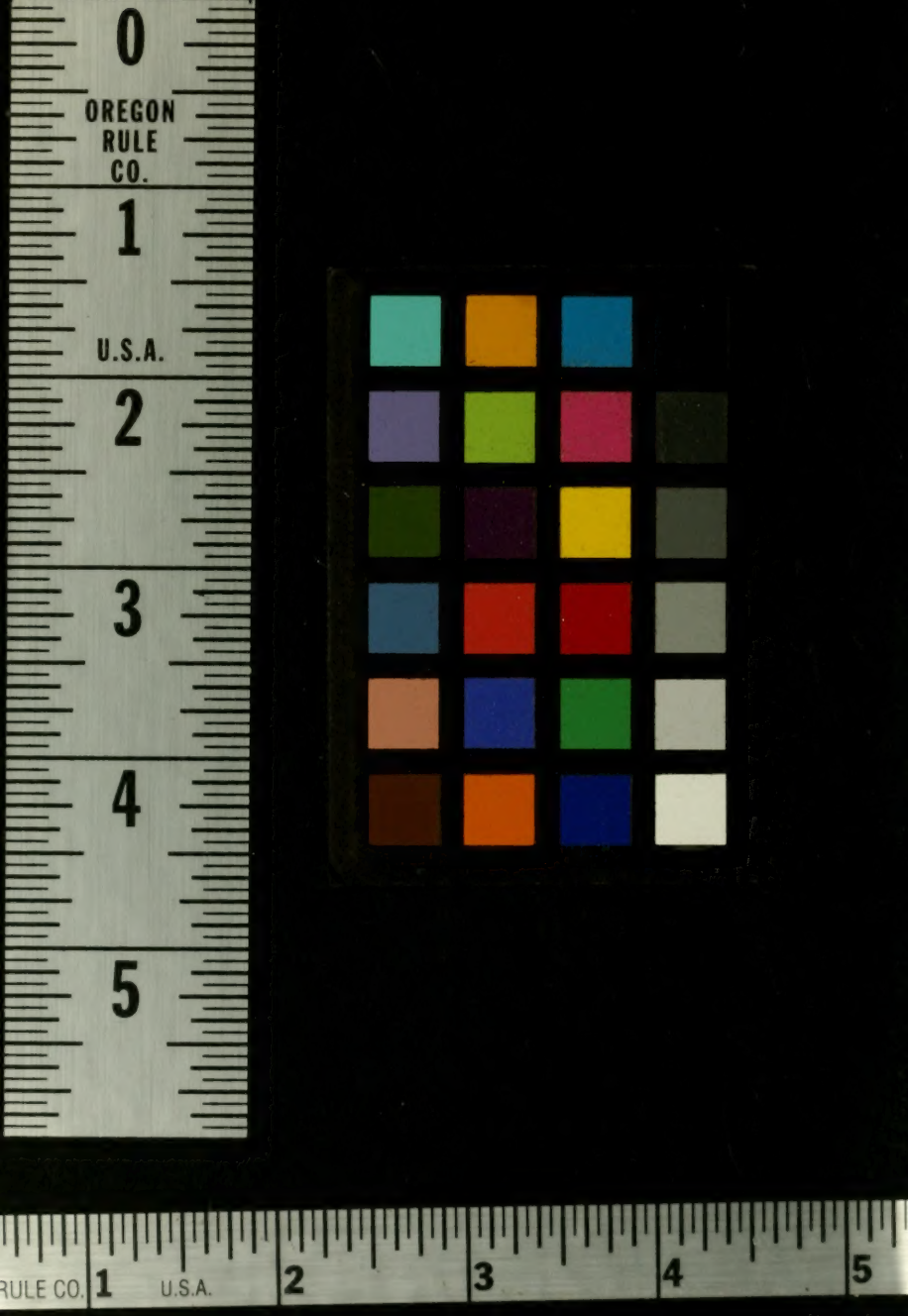
THE GETTY CENTER
LIBRARY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OREGON
RULE
CO.
1
U.S.A.
2
3
4
5
RULE CO.
1
U.S.A.
2
3
4
5